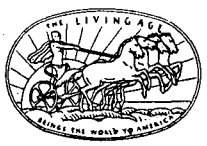
THE LIVING AGE



Contents for May 1941

THE WORLD OVER		201
A WOMAN'S STATE IN PRISON CAMP	*Anonymous*	208
THE RED ARMY TURNS PRUSSIAN	*V. Ossipov*	210
DECLINE AND FALL OF WARTIME ITALY		
AN INDICTMENT OF THE DUCE	*C. M. Franzero*	214
ITALIAN CONTEMPT	*A Dutch Traveller*	216
PAPER BOATS (A Story)	*Elisabeth Kyle*	219
SURVIVAL OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE	*Leonard Woolf*	222
ECLIPSE OF THE FRENCH PRESS		
THE PARIS NEWSPAPERS	*Henri Longa*	226
THE PRESS IN THE PROVINCES		229
EMERGENCE OF THE FRENCH NAZIS		231
TWILIGHT OF THE PARTIES		233
LOOK TO YOUR MOAT		235
PERSONS AND PERSONAGES		
'FATHER OF THE CHIN'	*Arthur Settel*	237
MAKING OF A NAZI	*Marjorie McFarland*	239
STRONG MAN ON TIGHT ROPE	*Shah-Mir Effendi*	242
IN DEFENSE OF 'PRESSURE'	*J. William Terry*	245
ARTS AND LETTERS ABROAD	*Eugene Jolas*	251
STRAWS IN THE GALE		256
WHOM WILL THE U. S. INTERN?	*Stephen Naft*	258
ERSATZ RELIGION IN THE REICH	*Stanley High*	265
TALK UNDER BOMBS	*Arnold Palmer*	271
IN LATIN AMERICA		274
TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO		278
BOOKS ABROAD		
SECOND THOUGHTS OF A STRATEGIST		280
HUMOR IN JAPANESE LITERATURE	*Kuni Sasaki*	282
OUR OWN BOOKSHELF		286

THE LIVING AGE. Published monthly. Publication office, New York, New York. Editorial and general offices, 25 West 45th Street, New York City. Editor: Lamar Middleton, Assistant Editors: Marjorie McFarland, Sylvia Kantor. 50c a copy. $5.00 a year. Canada, $5.50. Foreign, $6.00. Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office at New York, New York, under the Act of Congress, March 3, 1879.

Copyright, 1941, by The Living Age Company, Inc., New York, New York. Irvine Harvey Williams, President and Treasurer; Anne Roane, Secretary.

Subscribers are requested to send notices of changes of address three weeks before they are to take effect. Failure to send such notices will result in incorrect forwarding and delay in receipt. Old and new addresses must both be given.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Coming

in the JUNE *issue of*

THE LIVING AGE

AMERICAN NEWS SERVICES IN LATIN AMERICA ***By Carl Crow***

Germany's propaganda machine in Latin America is big and expensive. But net results are insignificant. American press associations blanket the continent, despite the fact that the Nazis offer their news reports free of charge. American cartoon-strips, movies, songs, are everywhere below the Rio Grande. The little-known truth is that German propaganda inroads make little headway against the avalanche of news, mostly impartial, sent Latin-American editors by the commercial North American agencies.

ANGLO-AMERICAN UNION CONFRONTS THE CONSTITUTION ***By Rubin Gotesky***

At the eleventh hour, last June, Winston Churchill offered France union with Britain as a measure to stiffen morale. Today England faces a military situation almost as critical. On all sides in the United States, the question of an Anglo-American union is debated. In the event of defeat, how can the British Isles prevent themselves from becoming a province of the Reich? What legal problems must be solved before union is possible, provided the invitation comes from the United States?

HITLER, GRAND COUTURIER ***By Clarissa Wolcott***

For more than three centuries, Paris has led the world in the creation of women's fashions. Now that enormous industry, once the second largest in France, is under the domination of the Nazis who demand of Paris dressmakers fashions that express "domestic love and the kitchen." The result is that celebrated designers in the French capital are going abroad—when they can escape. The industry is prostrate, but there are signs that it may revive, as a unit, in Vienna, or Milan, or Buenos Aires—or, more probably, New York.

Also—The Press of Turkey; A Profile of "Honest Bob" Menzies, Australian Prime Minister; The Filipinos' View of Tomorrow; The Month in Latin America.

Prompt mailing of the appended coupon will insure your receipt of the June issue containing these provocative articles.

THE LIVING AGE, 25 West 45th Street, New York, N. Y.

Please enter my subscription as follows:

☐ One Year ($5) ☐ Two Years ($9) ☐ Three Years ($12)

Name.....

Street.....

City.....

5-41

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE LIVING AGE

Founded by E. Littell
In 1844

May 1941 *Volume 360, Number 4496*

The World Over

IN THE FACE OF THE VICTORIES OF THE AXIS in the Balkans and North Africa, there are still ample grounds for viewing the predictable future with a fair degree of optimism. This is a world conflict that, in the end, will be decided by the rate and the caliber of industrial production. It is true that skill in military strategy, in propaganda, and the qualities in the individual soldier and officer of courage and physical endurance, continue to have a place in modern war, although it has been unquestionably demonstrated that these qualities are by no means so important in warfare as they once were. The courage and tenacity of civilians, for example, particularly those men and women engaged in wartime industrial production, has been shown to be of greater relative importance than the morale of men in the field facing tanks, bombers and machine-guns. The war will be won, it has been repeated every day since it began, at the lathe, the workbench, on the assembly-line.

Writing in the *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, Walter Tschuppik gives an interesting, if possibly over-sanguine, comparison of the war (industrial) potential of the nations at war, including those occupied by Germany, and those that may be at war. The figures are those supplied by the League of Nations for the year 1939. Ascribing to Germany, for purposes of comparison, a war production index of 100, other nations' war-production potentials are as follows:

British Empire	278.9	United States	422
Soviet Union	167.8	Japan	27.4

Germany (together with Italy and *all* the Balkan States, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, all of Scandinavia, Czechoslovakia and Poland) 245.2

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Statistics can be exceedingly dull (as well as grossly misleading), but there is a good deal in these figures that is a sight for eyes become sore over news of Nazi victories. If the League's figures are slightly out of the way, in favor of the democracies, that margin of error may be compensated for by the substantial damage done to Italian industrial installation since the war began.

If Japan's industrial index is added to that of Germany and all the Axis-dominated nations, the total is 272.6. This compares with the Anglo-American total (1939) of 700.9—and it is well to remember that between April 1940 and April 1941, the combined production index of the United States rose from 98 to 124—more than 28 per cent. British industrial production has, of course, also enormously increased, but German air-raids make any estimate hazardous. It is possible that the Germans have inflicted much heavier destruction.

Nevertheless, from a long-range viewpoint, it is difficult to see, on paper at least, how in the end Germany can defeat Britain. There are of course, two momentous "ifs" involved here. One is "if" American supplies can be ferried safely to Britain. The other is whether Britain can obtain another foothold on the Continent.

BEFORE THE UNITED STATES FINDS IT necessary to face the problems of internment which are discussed on page 258, it is worth our while to review the experience of our neighbor to the north, where a parliamentary committee was recently appointed to review the Defence of Canada Regulations. At present, any Canadian—whether or not he is a British subject—may be interned without trial at the absolute discretion of the Minister of Justice, Ernest Lapointe. If an appeal is made, the case may be reviewed by an Advisory Committee appointed by the Minister himself. Of eighty-three cases on which the Committee reported, it recommended release in twenty-four instances, but in nine of these, Lapointe declined to follow its advice. Investigations are made by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Lapointe claims that in many cases his department acts on secret and confidential information, often involving other governments, which it would be impossible to present at a public trial, but members of Parliament, newspapers, labor officials and many ordinary Canadian citizens are protesting vigorously against such dictatorial powers in the hands of any one person. Labor points out that its leaders can be interned for no more "subversive" activity than the discharge of their usual functions. The *Toronto Globe & Mail* and the *Saturday Night* of Toronto claim that newspaper men of unquestioned loyalty have been "investigated" by the R.C.M.P. The *Globe & Mail* says:

"Nor can there be much doubt about the real purpose of the visit from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, which was to intimidate

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

writers who had been dissatisfied with and critical of the war effort of the Canadian Government. Their real 'crime' was that they had been active in the preparation and publication of advertisements, under the name of 'Calling Canada,' which exposed the failure of the Government to provide tanks and other modern equipment for the armed forces."

One of the most influential papers in Canada, the *Ottawa Citizen*, was brought to trial —and acquitted—for publishing an allegedly "subversive" editorial. The charge was based on the following paragraph:

"When the lads come home from overseas after some years of service at the real business end of the Bren gun, they may know better where to shoot than Canadian veterans did in the years of death and privation after the last war."

A weekly, the *Canadian Tribune*, was suspended for three weeks, without trial, as "prejudicial to the safety of the state and the efficient prosecution of the war." Other journals, particularly the *Saturday Night*, inveighed against the dangerous principle involved.

Even the Canadian Bar Association—hardly a radical organization—has taken up the fight against the Government's tendency to try to suppress all disagreement with its policies. The Association adopted a resolution which stated in part:

"It is essential that there should be no interference, restraint or intimidation by those who, from time to time, employ their advocacy in particular cases, in the exercise of their liberties and freedom as citizens to discuss matters of public concern. . . ."

While the resolution was generalized, it was understood to refer to the case of R. M. Fowler, secretary of the Sirois Commission, who was recently discharged by the Ontario Government. Mr. Fowler had been making speeches on behalf of the adoption of the Commission's recommendations (on the reorganization of Dominion-Provincial financial relations). The Ontario Government is opposed to those recommendations.

THAT SPAIN IS ON THE BRINK OF compulsory entry into the war, at the command of Hitler, is indicated by the tone of editorial exhortations, during the last half of April, in the Madrid newspaper *Arriba*. This leading Falangist organ, implying broadly that Spain is about to join the Tripartite Pact, is building up a fear, both in Spain and Portugal, that Britain is about to invade the latter country in order to get another foothold on the Continent in compensation for that lost in the Balkans. The real feeling in Madrid is doubtless that, if Spain is to be forced to permit passage of German troops to Gibraltar, she does not dare have a "neutral" neighbor to the West on whose soil Britain might very probably land troops. Thus *Arriba*:

"Only psychological blindness before the most obvious realities can lead Englishmen—after the evacuation of Norway, Belgium, the Neth-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> erlands, France and Greece—to insult Portugal by considering her the practical path for their Peninsula and Mediterranean war. . . . There is approaching with a never-known rapidity an epoch that has already completely turned the world of recent centuries upside down and is crumbling the world of (British) arrogance before our eyes."

Arriba reminds Portugal that she gave valuable aid to Spanish Nationalists during the civil war, no matter whether popular sympathies lay with Britain, to whom Portugal is allied by a treaty many centuries old. The implication and warning is, obviously, that Spain expects Portugal to play along with Franco, no matter what befalls.

All signs combine to indicate an early German attack on Gibraltar, together with the strong probability of a reluctant decision by Winston Churchill, as in the case of Norway, that military strategy, as well as prestige and psychology demand that British troops be landed in Portugal and if necessary advanced into Spain in support of Gibraltar.

NOT THE LEAST ASTONISHING ASPECT of the Japanese-Russian "neutrality pact," signed in mid-April, are the varying interpretations of it throughout the world. To our Department of State, the announcement of the pact came as no surprise because, it was said, it changed nothing in the existing situation. To Mr. Matsuoka, the Japanese Foreign Minister who affixed his signature to the agreement, its alleged proposal came as a "complete surprise." So far as the Soviet Union is concerned—to quote *Pravda*—the pact has upset the machinations of "London and Washington politicians," which would seem to be news to official Washington. To Premier Konoye, of Japan, the agreement is of "epoch-making significance" to future relations between the two signatories, which naturally leads to the supposition that it means that, in some private stipulation, Moscow has undertaken to halt the sending of supplies to Chungking. On the other hand, the Chungking Government announces that it has been promised by Moscow that those supplies will continue to be sent to Chiang Kai-shek. Apparently, the pact is all things to all men.

But one opinion now voiced by various newspaper correspondents and commentators at Washington appears to be grounded in fact. American policy toward the Soviet Union, which in recent months unquestionably was designed to invite her to less friendly terms with Germany, has been a waste of time and scarcely the part of realistic diplomacy.

NONE OF THE USUAL NAZI ARGUMENTS upholding world domination and rule by German Aryans is so preposterous as the latest advanced by one Dr. G. Hergerman writing in the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*. This writer reasons that the Germans were the first modern cartographers of the world, that they invented the terrestrial globe and thus "the Germans

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

created the picture of the universe"—it follows in all logic, then, that the world belongs to Hitler and his people. The argument apparently is clinched by the writer's revelation that Gerardus Mercator, who was born in Flanders and remained there about half of his life, was in truth a German and that in consequence Nazis may claim that his "Mercator's Projection," with the world's parallels and meridians at right angles, amounts to a German claim to all the world. Finally, because "in the last 150 years Germany has maintained the undisputed leadership in modern cartography," and because "Germans have so enormously expanded the horizon of humanity," the rule of the world is rightfully theirs.

By use of the same premises, it may be argued that any man who draws a picture of one million dollars has a vested right in an actual million dollars. The reasoning has an aboriginal simplicity. Fraser's *Golden Bough*, for example, is full of examples of such logic: the hunter climbs a tree, designedly falls out of it, in the expectation that a savory partridge will simulate this performance, and fall at the hunter's feet around supper time; the fisherman purposely falls out of his boat, then climbs back in, to lure a fat trout into jumping into the fisherman's lap. You prick pins into a likeness of your enemy to provoke his death, etc. Very small children are similarly inclined, and draw rude pictures of what they want and expect. Evidently, adult Nazis are retrograding into puerility and doing much the same thing, at least in the direction of some of their thinking.

Aside from the infantile turn of this argument, Dr. Hergerman does not make out very well with historical truth. Mercator was a Flemish geographer and mathematician, who until he was past forty spent most of his time at Louvain and Antwerp; none of the accounts of Mercator's life denies this. But the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt's* writer says that his real home was Duisberg, near Dusseldorf to which, in fact, the geographer did not go until he was past forty. But for purposes of comedy relief, let it be assumed he was a German, and a sixteenth-century National Socialist at that. There is still a good deal of room for a more persuasive claim to world domination than the assertion that the Germans drew and published the first maps of the world, if they did.

THE DUTCH CONTINUE TO SHOW, under Nazi military rule, that they are a tough and irrepressible people. Sabotage, both of the industrial and the psychological variety, has been more pronounced and prolonged in the Netherlands than elsewhere in German-occupied Europe, although today it is on the increase everywhere. Apparently the Netherlanders are finding that ridicule is fully as effective against the Nazis, if not more so, than pushing members of the Reichswehr military police into Amsterdam and Rotterdam canals on moonless nights. In the occupied zone, the French at last are also learning how to attack the morale of their oppressors: they

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

whistle in deafening unison whenever German soldiers march in the streets, and they loose an uproar of ironic applause whenever German news-reels are exhibited. They have made a fine art, according to many accounts, of looking blankly through Nazi officers strolling down the Boulevards.

The various Dutch tricks also have a Gallic flavor. A recent issue of the *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* reports:

> "The Dutch simply refuse to believe, come what may, that the Germans will be able to invade England. It is a common remark in Amsterdam that the Nazis will need a week for the invasion—one day to drown and another six for their bodies to be washed ashore below the Dover cliffs. . . . Recently a book dealer in Rotterdam was fined heavily for exhibiting a photograph of Queen Wilhelmina. In the same place, the following week, he exhibited a photograph of Hitler, and next to it prominently displayed a book by Mevrouw Braun, Holland's champion woman swimmer, entitled *How to Learn to Swim.*"

Not a day passes that there fails to appear the words on Dutch walls, "Where the Hun has trod, no grass grows"—this is a reference to the systematic looting by the Nazis of foodstuffs. In mid-April, the Nazi-controlled French courts returned indictments against 15,000 citizens—some of them municipal officials—for complicity in the posting and writing of signs hostile to Germany or friendly to the British.

The German occupation authorities continue to impose severe penalties for these outbreaks which, of course, only encourage the Dutch and French to further outbreaks.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE VICHY RÉGIME, where Nazi control is far less exigent than in three-fifths of the country, is increasingly careful to do nothing to offend German sensibilities. An article in this issue of *The Living Age*, dealing with the provincial press of the nation, shows to what low estate Marshal Pétain has reduced the press, which includes a good many newspapers that were formerly published in Paris. In past months Marshal Pétain has shown himself incomprehensible—as, for example, his arch essay in the *Mercure de France* explaining to Frenchmen that German National Socialism was a "political philosophy of French origin"—but it may be doubted that he has committed any greater folly than his decision to rewrite the *Marseillaise.*

As to the reasons for the aged Marshal's desire to take up lyric writing, the Vichy correspondent of the *Svenska Dagbladet* has this to say:

> "During a recent visit to a town in southern France, Pétain was greeted with the *Marseillaise.* Abruptly, he asked for a change in the text of this national anthem. He demanded that instead of the opening sentence, '*Allons enfants de la patrie . . .*' there be substituted the phrase '*Amour sacré de la patrie . . .*' The latter line, he said in explanation, did not

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sound so bellicose as the original and was more in consonance with the plight of France. . . . As his audience did not know that line and others improvised by the Chief of State, the Marshal hurriedly recruited a small chorus which obediently sang the new version of this old battle cry of the Revolution. . . . Today, every time the Marshal is to make a broadcast, he is preceded by the Vichy-*Marseillaise*, with its stress on 'sacred love' of the Fatherland."

Before the French collapse, in May and the first half of June last year, when Allied troops were overrun by German tanks, the Government radio at intervals of every few minutes played the several stirring bars of the *Marseillaise* which accompany the words, "*Formez vos battalions.*" Marshal Pétain evidently reasons that there was some explicit treachery in this exploitation of a battle cry, at a critical time, though it had been sung continuously in France since its composition by Rouget de Lisle, an officer, in 1792; perhaps the Chief of State believes it would have been more in harmony with "sacred love of the Fatherland" to have capitulated to the Germans before they reached French soil.

FORTUNATELY, ALL THE FRENCH are not so humiliatingly eager to please the Germans. There is, for example, a new journal secretly circulated now in occupied France, calling itself *Pantagruel*, which expresses a neat distinction between the "loyal" attitude of Vichy and that of Frenchmen who regard Pétain's fawning on the Nazis, and his weird abracadabra of "spiritual rejuvenation," as the height of ignominious statesmanship. The paper, a weekly (whenever possible), circulates under the noses of the Gestapo. An article in its third issue reads in part:

"Our aim is not revolt against the authorities of occupation. We know that we lost the war and that the wise policy is collaboration but *not a cordial collaboration* with the Germans. We believe that this policy does not oblige us to sentence General de Gaulle to death, and grossly to insult England, our ally. She remains our ally and will be able to save us. Let us not forget that. . . . We must respect the signature of the Armistice, but don't ask us to be the allies of Germany against Britain. Laval has no right to attempt to drag us into that, and we shall not do it."

THE LIVING AGE was established by E. Littell, in Boston, Massachusetts, May 1844. It was first known as LITTELL'S LIVING AGE, succeeding *Littell's Museum of Foreign Literature*, which had been previously published in Philadelphia for more than twenty years. In a prepublication announcement of LITTELL'S LIVING AGE, in 1844, Mr. Littell said: "The steamship has brought Europe, Asia, and Africa into our neighborhood; and will greatly multiply our connections, as Merchants, Travelers, and Politicians, with all parts of the world; *so that much more than ever, it now becomes every intelligent American to be informed of the conditions and changes of foreign countries.*"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Woman's State in Prison Camp

ANONYMOUS

Argentinisches Tageblatt, Buenos Aires Liberal German-Language Daily

IN THE *Camp d'Accueil de Gurs*, in the long, narrow wooden barracks built on the sand plains at the foot of the Pyrenees, where formerly the Spanish refugees of the Civil War found asylum, we women of German nationality or origin found one another. Here also were women from other countries of the world, who had become Germans by some accident of fate and had remained in or been sent to France since war broke out. Refugees from Belgium, Luxemburg or the Swiss frontier, from Alsace and Lorraine, girls and women from Bordeaux and Lyon, from Vienna, Prague or Brünn, Zurich, Brussels and Amsterdam. A Negress from a Paris *bistro* of the Place Pigalle, who by chance had been born thirty years ago in a suburb of Berlin, was the barrack companion of a good Swiss who spoke only the Basle-German dialect but, through her marriage to a German, had come into this varied company.

Each barrack of the long rows was inhabited by sixty women, all of whom slept more or less peacefully on straw *paillasses* next each other, telling their life histories. It was left to the accident of neighborly feeling, to the energy and gift for organization of a few individuals, as well as the adaptability and tolerance, the wisdom and kindness of others, to transform this accidental next-to-each-otherness into a tolerable with-each-otherness, forming—in spite of its deficiencies—an extraordinary community of women, the kind of matriarchy of which philosophers dream.

I look back on my internment in the women's camp at Gurs, this Camp of Welcome, and still see the snow-covered Pyrenees from which we seemed to be separated only by the barbed-wire fence on which we hung our laundry. I look back to those long weeks of daily renewed comradeship, to experiences which made the strongest impressions of my life, set within the framework of this war.

The six thousand women, interned in the immense Sport Forum of the Velodrome d' Hiver in Paris, were sent at the end of the month to the depôt camp at the foot of the mountains. By the time they reached Gurs, they had already formed the nucleus of a women's state which daily took more precise form. Within a few days, this heterogeneous female society, of all degrees of education, had established an autonomous administration. It was, of course, improvised and not always systematic and efficient, but it was inspired with an immense energy and willingness to help one another, and the heroism of self-sacrifice often compensated for organizational deficien-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cies. In fact, one should speak less of the lack of organization than of attempts at over-organization which led nowhere. Each *ilot* selected an "*ilot* chief" for liaison with the commander and the external world. They established kitchen services—cooks, potato peelers, food distributors, purchasers from the canteen—barracks chiefs and sub-chiefs, postmistresses, laundresses, cleaning women, etc. This primitive administrative set-up was characteristically feminine, solving complicated problems not by reasoning and logic but intuitively and practically.

I MUST express my admiration for the thought, time and energy which went into the organization—the willingness to sacrifice, mentally and spiritually, of these women. Even more astonishing than the practical aspects of this women's state was the psychological phenomenon of a community without men. Women who had formerly not been able to imagine life without masculine companionship, now found themselves and other women able to live together and to develop leadership from within themselves. For example: a tiny dancer, accustomed to ask her boy friend to make her decisions; the spoiled wife of a businessman who had surrounded her with care and an army of servants; the model who had never cared for homemaking; the college graduate interested only in her books—and a little love—all had to face the new problem of managing their own lives without masculine support.

The word "comradeship" gained a new creative importance. It wasn't always women of the same age or class who formed friendships. One could almost say that the tendency was the opposite. Strong, emotionally stable and vital women were usually seen in the company of the delicate and helpless. The older women looked after the feeding and cleaning of the camp; the younger ones tried to get newspapers and books for mental nourishment. They helped to establish valuable connections and made plans for future activities and occupations. The dancing girl from the Casino de Paris found an *amie* in the bourgeois and moral widow from Brussels, who divided with the dancer her last lemon or piece of sugar or bread. The music-hall girl repaid with imitations of Josephine Baker, Maurice Chevalier or Mistinguette.

These creative comradeships and the recognition of stronger personalities found their most beautiful expression in the organization of worship of the three religions represented in the camp, whose services were performed with gravity and dignity.

(Editor's Note: An Associated Press dispatch in April said that unoccupied France has 90,000 foreigners in refugee, labor or foreign-soldier camps—"Jews, anti-Nazi Germans and Spanish republicans who have changed with the course of Europe from men without a country to men without a continent." According to the AP, the Pétain Government is concerned lest the ill will of the statesmen, authors, journalists and artists included among the internees may cost France dearly in the future.)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Red Army Turns Prussian

By V. Ossipov

Molodaya Gvardia, Moscow Organ of the Komsomol

(Editor's Note: The following article reveals in some detail the transformation of the "Workers' Peasants' Army" into a force where the severest discipline is to prevail. The contrast is sharp between the now Prussianized army, where discipline is the rigidest, and that of the original Red Army wherein comraderie was encouraged and no officer-caste system was possible. More than a year before this adoption of German discipline in the Red Army, Leslie Hore-Belisha, then British War Secretary, by various measures "democratized" the British Army, and new United States Army regulations, for example, make unnecessary the saluting of officers off military territory.)

AFTER careful scrutiny of the current military picture, and in accordance with the orders of the Government and particularly of Comrade Stalin, the Red Army is at present drastically reorganizing its system of discipline and training.

In today's setting of new imperialist wars, which threaten increasingly to lead to world slaughter, the officers and men of the Red Army must, as never before, keep mindful of capitalist encirclement. They must remember the necessity of strengthening Soviet military discipline, and in every way adding to the preparedness of their ranks.

Recently the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. issued a series of decrees the aim of which was to improve the discipline and the military might of the Red Army. The Government and the Communist party, as well as all the people of the Soviet Union, are looking at the warriors of the Red Army with the greatest attention.

The aforementioned decrees of the Presidium provide for a single command of the Red Army and for the rank of general, empowered with supreme authority over the troops. The same purpose underlies the orders of the Defense Commissar providing for compulsory salute on and off duty and prescribing the correct way of addressing officers.

It will be recalled that on October 12, 1940, the People's Defense Commissar, S. K. Timoshenko, Hero and Marshal of the Soviet Union, promulgated the new "Disciplinary Code of the Red Army," thus annulling the "Temporary Disciplinary Code of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of 1925. With the greatest satisfaction the Red Army has welcomed the new disciplinary code, recognizing that it expresses clearly its objective of a genuine military discipline.

THE first paragraph of the new code defines the new military discipline as consisting of "the knowledge and strict observance of the order established in the Red Army, based on the laws of the Soviet Government and on the Articles of War that must regulate the life, daily conduct and the fighting activity of the troops."

Discipline in the Red Army here must be recognized with greater enthusiasm. The discipline must be firmer, and it must be characterized by demands more severe and more harsh than is discipline based solely on class subordination.

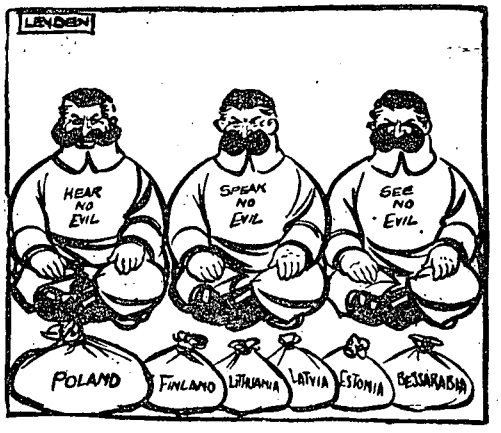
The basic conditions of Soviet military discipline must lie in self-abnegation, in the staunchness of the military and political command and their living bond with the fighters of the rank and file. As a result of experience, the fighters of the Red Army are now convinced of the wisdom underlying the orders of their commanders and superiors.

Complete fulfillment of these orders is the responsibility and the sacred duty of all soldiers and fighters of the Red Army. An honest view of his work and a regard for military discipline is the law governing the Red Army fighter. All those in the service of the Red Army, regardless of rank, must render complete obedience to their commanders and superiors, who are endowed with considerable powers by the Soviet Government.

Modern battle, based on the correlation of all kinds of weapons, and staged over huge expanses of terrain, demands particularly well-disciplined troops. No matter how good tactical plans may be, their worth lies in their execution. The source of this execution lies in Soviet army discipline. The commander now is the all-powerful director—and educator—of his troops.

The commander's order is the subordinate's law.

For that order, the commander alone is held answerable. Neither difficulties nor privations, not even the danger of death, may hinder the execution of an order. The commander rules with absolute authority: he knows best what must be done to achieve victory. The slightest deviation by the soldier from the spirit of an order will cost dear. In a battle situation, such deviation can disrupt the entire plan of operations. The great commander Suvorov used to teach that one minute may decide the outcome of a battle, that one hour may govern the



—*Natal Daily News*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

outcome of a war, and that one day may seal the fate of a nation.

In consequence, it is of the utmost importance that, while we are still at peace, we instill the strictest sense of discipline into every fighter in the Red Army. In the words of the new Disciplinary Code, "the strictest discipline is proper to the Red Army by its very nature."

Insubordination toward a commander is a violation of the soldier's oath of allegiance, and it constitutes a heinous crime against the Fatherland and the people. Thus it is plain why the new Disciplinary Code stipulates that "in cases of insubordination, open resistance or the malicious infraction of discipline, the commander has the right to employ every means of coercion, including the use of force and arms." Failure to perform an order is a crime punishable by courtmartial.

In contrast to the practice in the armies of the bourgeois nations, discipline in the Red Army pursues the aim of educating all troops to a state of readiness to execute any orders of the commander. This education is lined with the development of class consciousness in the officers and men of the Red Army. In the new Disciplinary Code it is emphasized that penalties are among the tools of education. But this does not deny the truth that a "disciplinary penalty" is also punishment. Penalties are imposed on the guilty to impress him with the harm that lies in any infraction of discipline. And for this reason, the penalties are severe. Besides reprimands and additional fatigue assignments, the Red Army soldier who disobeys may be confined to quarters for six weeks, or placed under guard-house arrest for periods of between ten and twenty days.

He who commands must also be able to obey. Red Army discipline is as sacred for the officer as for his men. Even members of the high command may be demoted or subjected to arrest, together with the loss of half their pay during the period under arrest.

On the other hand, the new Code provides rewards for all those who fulfill their obligations. Such rewards include valuable gifts, cash bonuses, decorations and, of course, promotion in the service.

The reorganization of the training system in the Red Army, now in progress under the direction of Marshal Timoshenko, in answer to the orders of Comrade Stalin, would be unthinkable without a strengthening of discipline. This discipline will give our armed forces the strength to overcome difficulties, to leap the obstacle of fatigue, adversity and privation. Disciplinary firmness breeds manliness and the calm that is necessary in the face of death. In actual war, such discipline will always be the source of bravery.

THE commander in the Red Army is required to enforce unceasing observance of the New Disciplinary Code and obedience to the orders of superior officers. He is responsible for the men under him. In consequence, he must be demanding, severe and just. The guilty he must punish without mercy, while he must reward those who distinguish themselves. There is great harm in sentimentality, liberal-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ism or the slightest leniency toward the disobedient. The Soviet Union, the Party and the Government have entrusted the rank and file to military commanders who must demonstrate their absolute authority. No one of them has the right to weaken that authority by false democratism, by familiarity or by criminal soft-heartedness.

The noteworthy qualities in our commanders are firmness and resoluteness. In the interests of the Socialist Fatherland, the Red Army commander must stop at nothing. To cite the Disciplinary Code, "a commander is not responsible for the consequences where he has been compelled to employ force to quell insubordination or to restore discipline. A commander who has not shown firmness in a case of this kind, who has failed to use all his power to insure execution of an order, must face courtmartial."

The art of war is complex. Training in that art is supremely difficult, but it is a high-minded undertaking. The mere desire or eagerness to master this science is not enough. Painstaking labor is needed both for moral and physical preparation. Military organization is a highly specialized organization; it demands a certain precision, a thoroughness in execution, and physical hardening. These qualities must be nurtured in young Soviet patriots while they are still members of their civilian societies.

MILITARIZED marches, sharpshooting contests, the study of military techniques—these are forms of training that Soviet youth must undertake to prepare themselves for future battles on behalf of the Fatherland. The Soviet schools, where military instruction now begins in the fifth class, must inculcate habits of self-discipline. Soviet youth must be always ready to defend this Fatherland, without thought of bloodshed or of life itself, to achieve complete victory over the foe.

'Churchill, the Obstinate Dotard'

Everybody knows how easily and tragically advancing age, and the pessimism connected therewith, degenerate into obstinacy. This holds good of England and Churchill. . . . It is not to be thought that England's present endurance under the unceasing onslaughts of Germany is due merely to the toughness of the Anglo-Saxon race. Rather is it an expression of senility, the same phenomenon that leads the aged stubbornly to oppose youth and to exclude the young from the treasures of the earth. Churchill is the type of this senile stubbornness. He looks to me like an obstinate old peasant who would rather see his farm go to ruin than hand it over to a younger man.

—Dr. Robert Ley in *Der Angriff*, Berlin

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

She abominates and fears the Germans, who run the nation, but she cannot sue for peace

Decline and Fall of Wartime Italy

An Indictment of the Duce

By C. M. Franzero

Free Europe, Fortnightly Review, London

THERE has been a crop of reports lately that Mussolini is about to sue for peace, or that many leading Fascists are urging peace at any price. All such rumors could easily be exploded with the simple argument that the power to decide is no longer Mussolini's; Germany having one foot in Italy, any peace move by Mussolini or the Fascist party would only lead to the total control of Italy by Hitler's forces [now become a fact, according to John T. Whitaker, *New York Post* and *Chicago Daily News* correspondent, in a series of articles that appeared in April].

Let us, however, assume that these rumors contain an element of truth. The question then arises: *Can* the Fascist régime sue for peace?

It is generally recognized that the bulk of the Italian people wish to end the war with Britain. But between the desire of the people and the wish of the régime there is a wide chasm: the people's desire for peace is a natural expression of the regret and almost open opposition with which they submitted to war. To suppose that the people would now, in the face of the appalling disaster brought down on them by the régime, allow it to seek peace in their name, is to credit them with a supineness and stupidity which even the eighteen years of Fascist emasculation does not justify.

When the régime and its Duce are brought to trial, Counsel for the Prosecution will lay this charge against Mussolini:

"This is a case of a leader whom despotism has ruined. His is an almost pathological case. No one will deny that this man Mussolini has during a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

number of years done many things in the social or political fields which turned out to be advantageous to Italy and the Italian people. We shall, therefore, refrain from mentioning the misdeeds which are the usual accoutrements of dictatorship. We witnessed the fanatical enthusiasm of the Italian people for this man and his methods of government; indeed, for a number of years the majority of them appeared to be reverencing Mussolini as a fetish. Then, all of a sudden, this man lost all sense of proportion between his own volition and the people's sentiments. When the short war against Abyssinia had, to all intents and purposes, vindicated in the eyes of the people his imperialistic teachings, he dreamt that he was the man to bring down the British and the French Empires. His intervention in the civil war in Spain was an act of revenge against the two great powers which had opposed his East African adventure; it also served as a test for the military and political reactions of these powers to a Continental war. When events in Germany—events which had been greatly accelerated by the disintegration of the old political order as a result of the Abyssinian crisis—moved so rapidly and spectacularly that all Europe trembled at the cracking of the Nazi whip, Mussolini deluded himself to the point of imagining that if he placed himself at the side of Hitler, he would in the end be able to share with the latter the domination of the whole world.

"AT THIS point Mussolini made his first serious mistake, and it is difficult to understand how this mistake was possible for such a crafty schemer. He believed that the Italian people, tired though they were of wars in Africa and Europe, would follow him to the end, or that the machine he had built would enable him to coerce the Italian people into fighting another war for the sake of ambitions in which they had neither interest nor faith. When a man has made his first mistake, there is no end to the series which will follow. Absolute power made him blind and deaf to the real sentiments of the people. His second mistake was that he believed that he had built an invincible war machine. Mussolini alone could tell whether he realized that the Fascist régime was but a gilded pasteboard castle. If, on the other hand, Mussolini genuinely believed in the soundness of his political creation, the realization of his own delusion must have been tragic. Possibly Mussolini thought that Great Britain was about to perish at the hands of Nazi Germany. We must admit this belief, in order to explain his dastardly entry into the war at the moment France was down. Mussolini had always believed that the French Army was one of the strongest in Europe, and certainly the most serious institution in France. The day that Army was willing to capitulate, Mussolini felt that his prolonged absence from the field (an absence which had made his nights sleepless through jealousy) would have prevented him from staking any claim *vis-à-vis* to his German partner. France was down; Britain would not face Germany alone; it was the end of the Old World. That was Mussolini's fatal mistake, caused not

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

only by an absolute ignorance of Britain's staying power and incomprehension of the British spirit, but also by a state of mind in which a man is prone to believe only that which fits his own designs.

"The Fascist régime is now chased by Nemesis, and Mussolini, who had promised the Italians untold conquests and riches, stands in the dock, charged with the responsibility of the defeat of the Italian nation, the loss of its colonies and African ports and the economic ruin of the country. He stands accused of the premeditated murder of Italy. For years we heard the régime proclaim the miracles of fascism; the only miracle it has performed is that it brought the Germans back into Italy!"

This is the case against Mussolini. And to suppose that he will sue for peace is to underestimate his intelligence.

It is, however, quite possible that certain leaders of the Fascist party may contemplate such a step. Their intelligence is as base as their knavery, and they must be thinking that a peace with Britain at any price—even at the price of abjuring their Duce and the Axis Alliance—would save their skins.

BUT what about the Italian people? Is it possible that they, seeing their country defeated and ruined in a war engineered by the Fascist régime, would tolerate that régime in the clothes of peacemakers? It is too ludicrous to think of it.

There is, therefore, no way out for fascism. Peace between Britain and Italy must be proposed only by men who can speak for the Italian people. Fascism cannot and must not be allowed to make peace. If such a nefarious thing were allowed, it would perpetuate the régime and its feudalistic sway over Italy. It would be a betrayal of democracy and of Europe.

Italian Contempt

By A Dutch Traveller

Vrij Nederland, Weekly Organ of the 'Free Dutch,' London

A NETHERLANDS reader writes me from Italy that, "It is unbelievable how openly anti-German the Italians are. Families suspected of being pro-German are ostracized."

This correspondent adds that, with the exception of Rome, the stronghold of fascism, all Italy is jittery. Hatred of Germany increases day by day. Morale has reached an all-time low: Italians know that the position of their country is hopeless. When a foreigner, on entering a shop, is mistaken for a German, the reception is hostile. When, however, salespeople recognize the customer for a Netherlander, their mood changes as if by magic. The German invasion of Holland is universally condemned.

Here are a few examples to show something of the Italian attitude:

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PALO ALTO PUBLIC LIBRARY READING ROOM

When a German in Rome enters a trolley car and voices the usual "*Permesso,*" with a hard German accent, he is answered with a derisive "*Afanti*" instead of the usual Italian "*Avanti.*"

A Netherlands lady whom I know was speaking Dutch with me in a trolley car. When we left the car an Italian, who had overheard us, sneered audibly, "*Brutta tedescaccia sproca*" ("Dirty German slut").

At the funeral of Bocchini, the chief of the Italian police [*The Living Age*, December 1940], all traffic at the Piazzale Flamminio was stopped to let the cortège pass by. A woman in one of the halted trolleys said, "Oh, what a lot of stuffed shirts!" Some one answered, "Of course! Himmler and a lot of other Germans!" Hereupon the first woman said: "*Dunque ancora non son morti tutti?*" ("So they're not all dead yet?") The motorman turned around to his passengers and said, "When will that day come?"

I stood talking with a Dutch lady at the Trevi Fountain. Within a few minutes we were surrounded by a group of street urchins, who shrieked, "Spies! Spies! Fifth columnists!"

Almost invariably, Ribbentrop is called in Italy "*Ruba troppa* ("Steals too much"). About the Axis the Italians are prone to say, "*L'asse non si chiama piu asse, si chiama U. P. I. M.: Unione paesi in miseria.*" ("The Axis is no longer called Axis, but U. P. I. M.—Union of countries in misery.")

TO one coming directly from Holland, Italy at first sight appears to be a land overflowing with milk and honey. But on closer examination, one finds that only the very wealthy can afford anything more than the bare necessities. Bread, oil and spaghetti become rarer every day. The bread is black, and may not be sold between one and five in the afternoon. Often would-be purchasers leave the bakeries empty-handed. Oil, next to bread the most important food to Italians, is also often unobtainable. The same situation exists regarding coal and charcoal. Frequently children are sent out at four or five in the morning to stand in line in front of the coal dealer's. Butter and sugar are very scarce and, of course, are rationed. The complaint is heard everywhere that the Government started too late with its rationing of food. The Italians grumble, "*Noi Italiani siamo razionati quanti nei soldi*" ("Our Italian pocketbooks have been rationed.")

If Italians have confidence in you, they say, "If things are to improve in Italy, we first must lose the war." If they trust you implicitly they add, "We don't think Britain can lose, because she has the sympathy of the entire world on her side, whereas Germany is hated by all."

Once in awhile one hears the expression, "*bravo come un inglese*" (as brave as an Englishman).

During a railroad trip, I listened to the conversation of two Italian soldiers. One said, "You're going to Africa? Let the British capture you. Then you'll have a good time—and a free trip to India."

The Italians are exceedingly well-informed over their military losses. Curiously enough, they don't care what

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Germans think of them, because they don't like to be called Germany's "lesser ally." The disastrous bombing of the Italian fleet at Taranto caused deep consternation. But every one expresses admiration for British feats in the air. At a dinner in Rome, at which many Italian officers were present, the daring of the R.A.F. was unstintingly praised.

In conclusion, a few typical anecdotes to illustrate the state of Italian morale:

During a blackout, somebody sees a light shining through a window, and shouts the warning, "*Luce, luce!*" ("Light, light!") The offender puts his head out the window and starts to curse roundly. Whereupon the accuser says in astonishment, "But I only said *Luce*, I didn't say *Duce*."

The story is told of a telegram arriving at the Vatican, containing only the letters "a.b., a.b." Nobody could decode the cryptic message until an old Jesuit transcribed it this way: "This message comes directly from Hell, and says, '*Abbiamo Balbo, aspettiamo Benito.*'" ("We have Balbo; we are expecting Benito.")

THE general opinion in Italy is that, no matter how the War ends, Italy will come out at the short end. If Germany should win, Italy will become a vassal state and will certainly lose Fiume and Trieste. If Germany loses, Italy's sacrifices will be even greater.

Rumor Hunting

Bernard Newman, author of spy and detective stories, is now engaged on an unusual kind of detective work himself: tracing down the origin of some of the remarkable tales one hears in wartime. "During that cold spell about this time last year I went to a ladies' sewing meeting," he said (*Home Service*), "there were about a dozen ladies there, knitting furiously socks and gloves for the troops. And the advantage of knitting is, of course, that you can talk while you work. One of these ladies was saying, 'Isn't it terrible? I heard last night that those poor lads of the R.A.F., when they come back from those long night raids, are so cold that they have ice in their lungs!' I don't know whether knitting has a soporific effect on the intelligence. In fact I'm sure it hasn't. But certainly all these dozen ladies said, 'Oh, isn't it terrible?' Well, with the help of the original speaker, I traced that story back. I found that it started off innocently enough: that the chaps of the R.A.F., when they came back from their long night raids, had ice on their *wings*—which is quite a different thing.

—*The Listener*, London

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Paper Boats

By ELISABETH KYLE

Manchester Guardian

THE sanatorium of Doctor Goetz stands high up on a spur of the Tatras, above the mountain junction of Poprad Velka, where in happier times trains from Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland met to disgorge their loads of visitors. Some of these visitors arrived wearing strong boots and with skis over their shoulders. After pausing at the little kiosk to send off postcards to envious friends, they would ascend the steep slope on foot, following the hotel servants who bore their luggage toward one or other of the fashionable sports hotels, where they would dine that night to Hungarian gypsy music in a restaurant properly decorated, according to Hungarian taste, in maroon red with plenty of gilt.

There were other travellers, however, who descended from the train with the assistance of nurses and doctors, for Dr. Goetz's sanatorium marked the last possible halt in an even longer journey. The sanatorium stood by itself above the great hotels. Seen from a distance it appeared like a dolls' house, for the bedrooms, lacking a fourth wall, remained open to the air like boxes piled one on top of the other. At night, guests pausing to look out of the windows of the gay "dancings" or restaurants would see the patients' bedside lamps glowing rosily, one on top of the other, between a gap in the dark pines, and would think how pretty they were or how ominous, according to their temperament. Only Lina Berkassy never bothered to look. She was in too great a hurry to get to bed and to sleep, so as to rejoin her husband up there the next morning at the earliest possible moment.

When the war came and the hotels emptied Lina Berkassy stayed on. She told both herself and the authorities that it would be only for a little while, but in her desperate heart she refused to believe that. She rejoiced that the Tatras were Hungarian again, but only because Dr. Goetz was himself an Hungarian and so there would be no question of closing up the sanatorium. Five years ago she had brought her husband here first, and each year they had stayed a little longer, until early in 1939, when it was obvious that Gabor would have to remain. They had seen the war roll up to the very foot of the Tatras, had watched all the other guests leave like a flock of frightened birds. And it was all like a dream to Lina. The only real thing was the climb through the woods by the little path covered with pine needles in autumn and now slushy with melted snow.

The mountain stream was now melted too and rushed past her, hurry-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing down toward the valley. Here and there along its banks were seats placed to rest invalids who could walk as far down as this. Lina sat down for a moment's rest, and presently heard voices coming toward her through the wood. It was Dr. Goetz, his long fur coat thrown open to the spring air, his little boy Kalman running beside him. Dr. Goetz had a newspaper under his arm. When he saw her he bowed and sat down too.

He was looking so grave her heart almost stopped. But he only said, "Have you read the news this morning? It is serious, very serious. Csáky has gone to Berlin again. What can we do with such a neighbor next door to us? Our independence is overshadowed, so that I fear——"

"Papa!" Kalman was tugging at his arm. "Give me a sheet of your newspaper, will you? I want to make boats."

Lina was shaken with a sudden unreasonable anger because he had frightened her, because he was so obviously thinking about Hungary instead of his patients. "How is Esztika Zoltan this morning?" she asked harshly, mentioning the name of the only other patient as ill as Gabor, a waxen-faced little school-mistress with large dark eyes.

THE little boy had fashioned two boats, and now, drawing a pencil from his pocket and wetting it with his lips, was scrawling a name on each of them. He launched them with ceremony and care, just as his father, forgetting in his perturbation over Hungary to be as discreet as usual, answered, "Poor child! She will not be here long, for there is little more I can do." Then, remembering himself, he added quickly, "Of course, if she had had the sense to come here a few years ago, like your husband, there would have been a good chance."

Lina sat sideways and looked at him. Already the smile of reassurance had died from his lips. Already his thoughts had turned back to the fate of his country. Flesh and blood was nothing to him, she told herself savagely; his thoughts were with an abstraction, a flag, a piece of geography. . . . She saw now that his quiet calm manner, his soothing ways with the patients and their relatives, was only a pose. He put them on and off with his white coat. She hated his politics, his comfortable châlet, his wife, and his child, yes, even his country, which was also hers. She hated everything now which took his attention from Gabor.

Kalman had started the paper boats at some distance from them, higher up the stream. He ran now in front of them and was waiting by the seat to see them pass by. He too noticed his father's absorption, and, in spite of his own, caught the name Esztika. "Don't worry, papa!" he said confidently. "I'll soon tell you whether Eszitka gets better or not. That boat's hers. I put her name on it. I make boats for all the serious ones and put their names on. They always get past here all right, but round the bend there's a nasty patch with reeds and things. If they get through they get better, but if they stick in the reeds——"

"Be quiet! How dare you!" He had

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

never seen his father so angry before. Dr. Goetz hooked the nearest boat—Eszitka's—in to the shore with the crook of his walking-stick. But the other was too far out and, even as they looked, disappeared round the bend. Neither of them needed to be told the name it bore. Lina jumped up and began to run toward the bend, but the dcotor took her arm and led her back to the seat.

"I was angry with Kalman because it is bad taste to make a game of illness," he explained. "And because I laugh at and despise superstition. You laugh at it too, I hope."

"Oh, yes," she said, adding lightly. "Make me another little boat, will you, Kalman? I want to sail one too."

"You can't sail the same name twice," the boy said, "or it doesn't come true." His father, who had been about to forbid him, paused in relief.

"I'm going to write quite a different name." She took his pencil and printed very large the words Magyar Kiraly—the Kingdom of Hungary—across the paper sail. Then before Dr. Goetz could stop her she stooped down and launched it. The paper boat turned round once or twice before it settled in its course and was swept swiftly down the current.

DR. GOETZ made a movement as though to follow it, but checked himself evidently with difficulty, biting his lips. Lina watched him, her eyes lit with malice. "Why don't you laugh?" she said.

The Perishable Word

The black-out has surely in one sense come to stay. Even for grown-up people, who ought to know better, it has become almost synonymous with night. It is unquestionably so for smaller persons with shorter memories, who can no longer recall the cheerful beam which lights up the hedge across the road or the red flicker of a fire in the window. One of them has even been heard, so persistent her inversion of thought, to command the drawing of the curtains "to keep out the black-out." Some day, perhaps, as she delves prematurely into the second layer of Christmas chocolates, because only dull ones are left on the top, she will justify herself, all unknowingly, on the ground that she is digging for victory. Thus long after our slogans have vanished (would that so odious a term could vanish with them), they may yet live on; and only the very old will know how they arose and what they mean.

—*The Times*, London

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An English critic believes it can endure only in a 'beneficent' form

Survival of the British Empire

By LEONARD WOOLF

New Statesman and Nation, London Independent Weekly

A WAR against British imperialism—"A war of rival imperialisms." The Nazi strophe from Berlin is answered by the Communist anti-strophe from the chorus in Moscow. The stout-hearted Briton, who, like a sensible man, thinks that the main job is to win the war, whatever it may be, is unmoved and uninterested, for he regards these ideological slogans—not without reason—as merely part of the non-stop propaganda of Dr. Goebbels and the Comintern. Even if they are, he might with advantage give a thought to them. For the slogans belong to that exasperating class of half-truths which are more seductive and dangerous than lies and which therefore the professional propagandist finds the most effective weapon against the many people whose pure and simple hearts are guided by feeble brains. There is a quarter of the truth in the statement that we are fighting this war to preserve the British Empire against destruction by Hitler, in the statement that the Nazis are fighting it to destroy the British Empire, in the statement that Hitler is fighting it in order to establish a German world-empire, in the statement that we are fighting it to prevent the establishment of a German Nazi empire. There you have four statements each with a quarter truth in them, yet Truth is so elusive and unmathematical that, even if you combine all four, you will still get a statement which gives you about one-quarter of the truth. But they show that the two slogans given above should not be brushed aside as pure propaganda, for imperialism and empire are among the causes of this war and their future will be determined by how the winner of the war makes the peace. In other words, the future of peace will largely be determined by the future of imperialism.

The trouble is that the words empire and imperialism have become sur-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rounded by such an aura of emotion that it is almost impossible to discuss —or even think about— the subject intelligently; that is why the hackles of the German rise in hate and of the Englishman in pride at mention of the British Empire. If we want peace when we have won the war, we must make up our minds what we are going to do with the British Empire, and in making our decision we must try to steer clear of the aura of emotions and the rising and falling of hackles. It will help us to get into the right frame of mind if we consider what we did with the British Empire in the interval of uneasy peace which divided the war which ended in 1918 from the war which began in 1939. Luckily, an admirable and intelligent book has recently been published which gives just the kind of survey of the facts which we require (*Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs. Vol. II. Problems of Economic Policy, 1918-39*, by W. K. Hancock).

In the nineteenth century we seemed to be on the road to establish, through free trade, a new and beneficent type of empire. "It did not abolish political frontiers, but by refusing to enforce them by economic barriers it diminished their importance. It showed a way by which empires in future, unlike all empires of the past, could dissolve without disintegrating—by bringing themselves into a wider world order." It is worth remembering that "it was Joseph Chamberlain, of all people, who most emphatically and proudly enunciated Great Britain's rejection of privileged imperial ownership." Later on, as the century waned, it was Joseph Chamberlain who made himself the protagonist of the exactly opposite policy and ideal—an economically militant empire, surrounded by a ring-fence of tariffs, a unit armed for the defense—but also for the defensive-offensive—in a hostile world order. In the period 1918 to 1939, it was the latter policy or ideal which triumphed and the economic structure of the Empire was revolutionized in its relation to "the world order"—and, as everyone should know now, you cannot change economic without also changing social and political structure. At Ottawa the new building was given —so it was believed—its final form.

THE fundamental idea underlying the Ottawa policy was that of a self-sufficient empire. As Mr. Hancock's book shows, in the economic imperial bargaining upon which it was based each "white" unit of Empire—*i.e.*, the mother country and each of the Dominions—was expected to proceed on the principle: "We first, the other units of the Empire second, the foreigner nowhere." The lesser breeds, the Crown Colonies, etc., which sat below the salt at the imperial table, were dragged into the scheme by the Colonial Secretary and the scruff of their necks, and, being unable themselves to pursue the sacred path of self-interest, they frequently had to content themselves with such crumbs as fell from the white, self-governing part of the table. The Ottawa policy had failed before it was engulfed in the war of 1939. Meat and dairy produce soon taught the British Government that it was part of a world economic order from which

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it could not cut itself off without catastrophic results; Belgians and barley and finally wool taught the same lesson to the Australians; mutton, lamb, and butter taught it to the New Zealanders. By 1938 the trade discussions between the British and Australian Governments and the United States economic agreements with Britain and Canada showed that facts had already compelled a retreat from Ottawa. And there were other facts which were causing uneasiness. The foreigner was to be nowhere within the ring-fence of the British Empire. The fence encloses a large amount of the world's surface and population and the foreigner was not everywhere regarding his exclusion passively. Imperialism, economic or otherwise, is a game which two can play at. It soon began to be evident that Dr. Schacht was playing it in the Balkans by a somewhat new and not unsuccessful system devised by himself. In Berlin, Herr Hitler was making Germany "self-sufficient" and furnishing himself with weapons which might enable him to expand a self-sufficient Germany into a self-sufficient German Empire. It looked as though economic imperialism might once more end in war.

The war came and we are now in it, but it will end some day in peace again. What are the lessons which the British Empire can learn from the history of this interval between the two wars? The first lesson is that the ring-fence empire, unless it is so small as to be unimportant or so large that it is practically a world-empire, must almost certainly lead to war. The second is that the imperialism of Ottawa is a contradiction in terms. The idea that you can put a ring-fence round the British Empire and exclude the foreigner, while at the same time you can maintain the existing standard of life of the population of the British Isles and safeguard the markets of the Dominions and Colonies for their primary products, is a fantastic delusion, and the years 1932 to 1938 proved it to be such. Militant hostile imperialisms in the modern world can be conducted on the Fascist system whose standard of value is guns and power, not butter; it cannot be conducted on Ottawa principles of eating your cake and having it. The statesmen who met at Ottawa all maintained in their speeches, though not by their acts, that their object was to clear out the channels of world trade and stimulate and increase the trade of the world. You cannot do that by putting the Empire first and second and world trade nowhere.

If, therefore, we wish for peace and prosperity, we must turn our backs upon both the Fascist and the Ottawa ideas of empire; we must go back to Joseph Chamberlain's idea of an empire which refuses to enforce political by economic barriers and can dissolve itself in a wider world order. That does not mean a return to the *laissez-*

—*Punch*, London

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

faire, liberal empire of the nineteenth century. Though we reject both Fascist imperialism and the British imperialism of the 1920's and 1930's, there is an element of reality and value in both of them which we will reject at our peril. Both of them aim at creating economic areas which transcend political frontiers and at large-scale economic planning within those areas. This aim is in accordance with the impulse of the most important facts in modern history. More than half our catastrophic public miseries and follies are due to the hopeless dislocation between our political institutions and ideas and economic facts. Economic facts impel us towards international organization, to world planning of production and distribution; the parochial politics of nationalism attempt to "clear the channels of world trade" by blocking them at every frontier and by pretending that the economic system of the world has not altered since the days of Adam Smith.

OUR object in the new economic order should really be to "clear the channels of world trade." But that can only be done by considering world trade as a whole and the contribution which large units do or can make toward it. Thus, the impulse of imperialism and fascism to create large economic units integrated by a system of semi-barter is sound. The organization of world trade must be large-scale organization; it must, in fact, be international, and therefore it must be directed by governments. But the objective of governments should not be the parochial mercantilism of the Fascist or imperialist, the system of hostile economic confederations under which Governments are perpetually cutting off their economic noses in order to spite their neighbor's face. It is sound that the British should plan with the Australian Government what meat and with the New Zealand Government what meat and butter it will take from them for a term of years, but it is unsound—as the parochial imperialists learnt between 1935 and 1938—to disregard world-trade in meat and butter in making the plan, to push the Danish and Argentinian producers out of the economic world. What we must do, if we want peace and prosperity, is to extend the Ottawa system from the Empire to the world, to bring into it the Danish and Argentinian producer as well as the Australian and New Zealander, and, as we include instead of excluding producers, so we must include rather than exclude potential markets. There is no insuperable difficulty in the planning and control of world production and consumption of butter on such lines, except perhaps the fathomless stupidity of the human race.

If we win this war, we shall be, at least temporarily, in such a dominating position that, if we rise above our own stupidity, we might impose such a system upon the world. Then perhaps Chamberlain's dream of a beneficent British Empire dissolving without disintegration into a wider world order might come true. At any rate, this is the only future for imperialism which does not contain the seeds of battle, murder and sudden death.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The confusion of party squabbles, once the political fare of France, no longer exists in modern Gaul

Eclipse of the French Press

THE PARIS NEWSPAPERS

By HENRI LONGA

Voici, French-Language Topical Monthly, New York

THE French press, as is the case with modern Gaul, is today divided in two. Although there is some communication between the inhabitants of occupied and unoccupied France, the newspapers of the two regions live a separate and independent life. Those of the free zone are prohibited in the occupied area, and *vice versa*. [A recent Nazi ruling permits the delivery of newspapers of the occupied zone into unoccupied France.] There is one exception: the weekly *l'Illustration*, once one of the wealthiest publishing properties in France, which has now been expropriated by the Nazis, may be sent from the capital to the free zone. But the great journals of Paris, which before the war circulated even to the smallest hamlet, and which provided fuel for endless political debate among the peasants, until recently did not reach the unoccupied area.

The Paris press, which once numbered fifty dailies and as many foreign-language organs, now consists of eight newspapers. Six of them appear in the morning: *Le Matin*, the independent organ once edited by Stephen Lauzanne, which suspended publication for a few days only; the new *France au Travail*, established after the Armistice last June; *l'Oeuvre*, the former Radical-Socialist organ which returned to Paris last September from the provinces; *Le Petit Parisien*, formerly one of the "newsiest" dailies, with an enormous country circulation, which resumed Paris publication in October; *Aujourd'hui*, recently established under the editorship of Henri Jeanson; and the *Cri du Peuple*, now published under the editorship of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Jacques Doriot, former Communist leader turned Fascist (he is also editor of the weekly *l'Emancipation Nationale*). The *Dernières Nouvelles*, established during the early days of the Nazi occupation and published in German, expired late last year. The other dailies completing the list are published in the afternoon—*Paris-Soir*, which has no connection with the lively paper of the same name before the Armistice (now published at Lyon), and the *Nouveaux-Temps*, a recent creation. All of these journals are published in four-page editions.

All of these sheets are, of course, Nazi-dominated, although they have more or less individual styles of "interpreting the principle of German-French collaboration." But they all have one characteristic—they publish only the German and Italian war communiqués. (Newspapers in the Free Zone are permitted to publish the communiqués of all belligerents.)

OF the eight Paris dailies, only *Le Matin* has marked resemblance to its appearance and style before the French collapse. In those days it was edited largely for business men, and its style was condensed to give the news in the briefest reading time. Today it gives the reader a story (a feature called "Le Mille et Un Matin") and some essay, generally in adventurous vein; these are its only concessions to "literature." Incidentally, the only by-line in the paper is that beneath the editorial. Jean Luchaire, its present editor (and also editor of *Les Nouveaux Temps*), writes almost daily a column of "authoritative" comment on affairs political, social and economic.

L'Oeuvre has remained the organ of Marcel Déat, who has gathered around him a "discreet" and efficient staff. M. de la Fourchardière writes his daily column of *Hors-d'Oeuvre*; M. Francis Delaisi writes about *La France Nouvelle*, and M. Georges Pioch writes about *L'Oeuvre Théâtrale*, if any. The name of the former editor of *L'Oeuvre*, (when it was a Radical-Socialist organ) Jean Piot, has not been seen for months. It actually finds something droll in the current scene to depict in cartoons, and it even goes in for such departments as the "Housewife in the Marketplace," the "Veterans' Column," the "School at Work," etc., etc. But the chief *raison d'être* of the paper is to serve as a sounding-board for the vigorous "collaborationist" views of M. Déat—collaboration, that is, with the Nazi authorities—and he also follows a policy of opposition [presumably the writer means to Vichy].

Le Petit Parisien follows a policy of publishing the news in the most digestible and palatable form it can devise. Thus, it shuns political essays, and its front page is largely given over to the theater, sports, "women's features"—and Nazi propaganda. It publishes the "popular" authors of today and yesterday—Dechare and Claude Jeanet, Maurice Prax, Jean Vignaud, Jean-Joseph Renaud, Colette, Abel Hermant, Maurice Donnay, J.-H. Rosny *jeune*, Maurice Bedel, Lavarende, Hughes Lepaire, etc.

Aujourd'hui features topical illustrations and the work of celebrated cartoonists, among them Raoul Guerin; its articles for the most part are

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

social, economic and literary surveys, and it makes obeisance to popular taste in the form of departments devoted to activities of youth, sports, women's clubs, the theater, books, etc.; there are prize contests for fashion design [despite the Nazi propaganda in the occupied area that the Frenchwoman of today must be preoccupied hereafter with motherhood and the kitchen], and considerable ingenuity is exercised in giving this daily a lively tone. In the main to politics, and oftentimes to the most militant treatment of politics. The former, for example, begins a forthright editorial in this vein: "Marshal Pétain has stated the fundamentals that must govern collaboration [with the Nazis]. There can be no further hesitation. It is collaboration—or suicide! There is no alternative. Enthusiasm may not be expected, but neither should there be ill humor and bad faith."

Lorsqu'on veut empêcher les horreurs d'une révolution, il faut la vouloir et la faire soi-même...

5 50

Le Matin

5 50

...Elle était trop nécessaire en France pour ne pas être inévitable.
RIVAROL (1753-1801)

57e ANNÉE — N° 20.624

Ne restons pas inactifs

LA VIOLENCE DES BOMBARDEMENTS SUR L'ANGLETERRE NE CESSE DE CROITRE

contrast to *Le Petit Parisien*, *Aujourd'hui* makes a great deal of its political leader, on the first page, and such men as Jean Sarment, Marcel Ayme, Henry Jacque, Robert Francis, Etienne Rey and Galtier-Boissière alternate in writing on economics and the social and political scene. Even those of the foregoing who came originally from the Left, and even the extreme Left, are tolerated by the Nazi authorities—their socialism, or Radical Socialism, has been transmuted, of course, into "collaborationism." But recently *Aujourd'hui* published a series of excellent articles by Bernard Grasset, the well-known publisher, under the title, "*A la recherche de la France.*"

The other two dailies of recent establishment, *La France au Travail* and *Le Cri du Peuple*, are devoted in

The *Cri du Peuple* has a different axe to grind, but it is not less direct. Like *La Liberté* before the outbreak of the war, it is anti-Communist and quasi-Fascist. Under the editorship of the apostate Jacques Doriot, every day it launches savage attacks on the Communists, which are elaborated each week in the same editor's *l'Emancipation Nationale* published in the Free Zone. The slogan at its masthead is: "To labor its place, to capital its place, and nothing but its place." Features attempt to reflect the editorial policy. Thus, there are "popular" departments devoted to "In the Fields and at the Workbench" and "In the Factory, the Shop and the Store." Youth activities and sports are both treated as part of the serious "re-education" of the people. A weekly finan-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cial column is written by Hervé Legrand who, it is ironic to recall [in view of his employer's Communist background], was once on the staff of the royalist *Action Française*.

As to the evening papers: *Paris-Soir*, which lifted the name from the original Paris newspaper of that name (now continuing operations in the unoccupied area), has also adopted its predecessor's general make-up, and its front page is usually given over to mildly sensational scare-heads, anecdotes and "human interest" material. Its second page is a repository for news of eating-places, the theaters, horse racing and other amusements. It is strongly pro-Germany, despite the frivolous nature of most of its contents. In contrast, the other sheet, the *Nouveaux Temps*, is the evening equivalent of *Aujourd'hui*, with a vast array of columnists dealing with economics, politics and "literature," and frequent contributors include such journalists as Alfred Mallet, Robert Francis, Steve Passeur, Marcel Ayme, Henri Jacque, O.-P. Gilbert, Jean Goy, Renaitour and others.

So—the Parisians still have something to read when they awake in the mornings and after their day's work. When Frenchmen are repatriated, it may be hoped that their favorite newspapers, some of which have disappeared or appear today in unrecognizable form and format, may be restored to them after a prolonged and painful separation.

(Editor's Note: The writer of the foregoing does not state which of the Paris newspapers are openly published by the Nazis. According to the American Friends of German Freedom, these include at least l'Oeuvre, Aujourd'hui, La France au Travail *and* Les Nouveaux Temps. *The writer also omits reference to the weekly* Le Pilori, *a slavish imitation of Julius Streicher's violent and obscene* Der Stürmer, *published at Nürnberg; Streicher, incidentally, was recently reported imprisoned at Dachau concentration camp for theft of Nazi party funds. Almost none of the aforementioned Paris newspapers reaches the United States by regular channels.)*

The Press in the Provinces

National-Zeitung, Basle

SEVERAL of the large Paris newspapers have migrated to Lyon, the city which today has become the spiritual and cultural center of France. All these publications suffer from the lack of paper and, although twice a week they may double their size to four pages, not every publisher is able to take advantage of that concession.

Most of their columns are devoted to discussions of the Pétain measures for "moral and economic reorientation." Only too frequently, of course, these newspapers offer identical ideas, because of the situation. [Presumably

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by "situation," the writer has reference to the press law of November 3, 1940, which makes it a penitentiary offense to "offend the Chief of State by publication of slurs or attacks."] Gradually, however, the papers in the unoccupied area are overcoming the uniformity of their contents. They all employ the same arguments when they deal with such large questions as "the moral rebuilding of man," "the return to the soil" and "the education of youth." In dealing with art or with history, the emphasis is always on the regional.

Le Temps, once the official organ of the Government, now published at Lyon, strives to be the chronicler of French life. *Figaro*, formerly owned by the perfumer Coty, devotes itself to readers still interested in literature. *l'Action Française*, also published at Lyon and still edited by Léon Daudet and Charles Maurras, has gained in circulation because of some increase in support for a monarchist restoration. *La Croix*, once the chief Catholic organ in Paris, is now published at Limoges and it, too, has widened its audience because of the revival of religious feeling.

Le Journal and *Le Petit Journal*, both now published at Limoges, the *Journal des Débats* at Clermont-Ferrand, and *Le Jour* at Marseille, complete the list of Paris dailies that have removed to the unoccupied zone. *l'Effort*, published at Lyon and a post-Armistice organ, is edited by Charles Spinasse, former Minister of Economy in the Popular Front, who now professes to find himself in agreement with Pétain and argues that his organ "labors for the spiritual and moral basis of the new France." [The paper is supposed to supplant *Le Populaire*, the Socialist organ edited by Léon Blum in Paris which has, of course, long since disappeared.] It is directed

L'ancienne France désorganisée est morte VIVE LA NOUVELLE FRANCE !

Paris-soir

Nouvelle Série. — Numéro 7

37, rue du Louvre, Paris (2e)

SIXIÈME ÉDITION

50 cent.

PARIS reste PARIS parce qu'il veut retrouver son visage

CE QUE LES CONDITIONS D'ARMISTICE ENTRE LA FRANCE ET L'ITALIE

DANS LES BUREAUX DE LA CROIX-ROUGE FRANÇAISE

Le travail ne manque pas mais il y a des dévouements

at the workers but it is impossible to say how much influence it has among them. L. O. Frossard, a former cabinet colleague of Laval's, publishes *Le Mot d'Ordre* at Marseille and this evening paper also seems primarily concerned with the French workers' lot.

Candide, the literary weekly that was once published in Paris, has reappeared at Clermont-Ferrand, and it remains a conservative magazine chiefly interested in literary movements. *Gringoire*, the politico-literary weekly, has opened shop at Marseille, and it, with *l'Action Française* leads such opposition as exists to any return to parlimentary democracy — *Gringoire*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

each week defines democracy as the product of the Jews and Free Masons.

The Nazi occupation authorities recently made much of their announcement that henceforth residents of unoccupied France would be permitted to subscribe to *Signal*, the French edition of the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*.

Emergence of the French Nazis

La France, Organ of the 'Free French,' London

UNDER the inspiration of the unspeakable Laval and of Nazi Germany, a party has been organized at Paris which uses for its label the misleading name, *Rassemblement National Populaire*. In control of it are MM. Jean Goy, Marcel Déat, Jean Fontenoy and one Troy, the latter reportedly representing the trade unions.

Marcel Déat needs no introduction, since his role as Hitler's agent has long since been disclosed. Goy was a deputy of the Right, who for many years demonstrated his sympathy for the Nazis. Fontenoy is a onetime agent of the Agence Havas [once owned in part by the Comité des Forges] and of the financial Fournier agency. He has been unveiling his Fascist tendencies during the last six years. He has made frequent journeys to Berlin and he has been a lieutenant of Jacques Doriot, renegade Communist leader.

On January 31 of this year, these "leaders" held a meeting in Paris at the headquarters of the National Union of War Veterans and there launched a movement for "national revolution and co-operation." That marked the birth of the *Rassemblement National Populaire* or, more correctly, the French National Socialist Party. The avowed aim of the party is to overthrow the Vichy Government, as was made abundantly plain in an article by Déat in *l'Oeuvre*. In this article, or manifesto, he said:

"The reasons for the revolution manifest themselves more clearly every day among the middle class, among the miserable workers, in the determination of the peasants to survive this catastrophe and by the revolt of all the young, sane and creative elements in our population. These elements wish to rid France of the corrupt buffoons who have been playing a ridiculous farce at Vichy the past six months."

Soon after the appearance of Déat's article, Fontenoy took occasion in a radio address to formulate the party program. "For more than six weeks," he said, "[unoccupied] France has had no government. Fortunately the Paris newspapers, not being in the grasp of the Vichy Government, have been able to publish their terrible accusations against those who are responsible for the present situation and against those who had the effrontery to dismiss M. Laval—Laval who represented the pledged word of French collaboration

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

—and against the men surrounding Pétain. These include, of course, Moulin de la Barthete, the specialist in hypocrisy, Admiral Fernet, M. Alibert, the former minister of justice who established a brief reign of terror in the unoccupied zone, M. Peyrouton,

PREMIERE ANNEE. — N° 78

LE NUMERO : 80 CENTIMES

DIMANCHE 15 SEPTEMBRE 1940

ABONNEMENTS

DIRECTION ADMINISTRATION :

Téléphone : COlmet 16-07

Service publicité : COlmet 11-72

LA FRANCE AU TRAVAIL

C'est le moment pour le Cabinet Churchill de filer... à l'anglaise!

GRAND QUOTIDIEN D'INFORMATION AU SERVICE DU PEUPLE FRANÇAIS

A la recherche des valeurs spirituelles

LE CAPITALISME EN DÉROUTE

peace when he was arrested on December 13. The French occupation of the Rhineland in 1918 was infinitely worse in abuses than has been the occupation of a part of France by the Germans in 1940-41. We would not tolerate from the Germans the treatment that was

a self-seeking freemason of a discredited school and a scoundrel who has participated in all the political chicaneries of the last few years.

"These are the rascals of the coup-d'état of Friday, December 13 [date of Laval's expulsion from the Vichy cabinet and of his arrest]. To this group Pierre-Etienne Flandin must be added—he consented to replace Laval as foreign minister, and posed as a supporter of collaboration with the Germans, only to turn overnight into an apostle of 'watchful waiting.' He has deceived German newspaper correspondents just as he deceived his own political intimates with respect to the real facts in the Laval affair. As M. Laval has stated fully twenty times, a policy of collaboration can never succeed unless it is practiced with reciprocal sincerity. This Flandin is the antithesis of sincerity.

"Laval was achieving orderly government, provisioning of the country, the return of our prisoners and a just

meted out to the Rhineland by the French Army.

"The Germans have granted us, without any changes, the local government which existed in Paris before the war. By their moderation, they have made clear to us the way to future collaboration. They have aided us in the re-establishment of communications in the capital and in supplying it with food; they have agreed to release hundreds of thousands of prisoners so that the latter can work the land and prepare a harvest against the future.

"On December 13, M. Laval submitted a peace plan that would have guaranteed the Continental territory of France, with the exception of Alsace and a part of Lorraine, and one that would also have preserved our colonial empire in its entirety. All was to have been settled by January 1 of this year, but the stupid and criminal men of Vichy did not want the French to have any future.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

". . . It is necessary to act quickly. When the German Army occupies London, all the French politicians will prostrate themselves at the feet of the Germans. But then it will be too late. We must collaborate today."

This is the spirit of the men who led in establishing the *Rassemblement National Populaire*, the National Socialist Party of France.

The political platform of these men is as follows:

In foreign policy, Franco-German collaboration, with defense of the colonial empire; political and economic adjustment to the European situation, together with the utilization of Africa for European collaboration.

In internal policy, a strong state upholding a national movement and excluding all international elements; the re-establishment of moral, family, professional and national values; popular education imparting to children a culture and an ideal; protection of our race, and the physical and moral regeneration of the French people.

The Fontenoy broadcast concluded as follows:

"Frenchmen must now decide whether they will build a French peace, or whether they want to make common cause with the bad faith of Vichy, which can only lead our country to ruin. Every Frenchman who does not despair of his country, and of common good sense, should join the *Rassemblement National Populaire*, and thus save France."

Twilight of the Parties

National Zeitung, Basle

FRENCH politics, so long noted for the multiplicity and confusion of its parties, has now shaken down to three groups, differentiated by their attitude toward external policy and represented by Laval, Pétain and de Gaulle. The last, of course, is the leader of the extreme anti-Nazis, those who demand the re-entry of France into the British coalition. The Free French party, naturally, cannot exist legally in Vichy France, but it is known that de Gaulle's followers—including such diverse elements as conservative army officers and left-wing Socialists—have secret organizations in many cities, hold meetings and carry on influential underground propaganda. Their strength has been sufficient to paralyze the Laval group, who would like complete co-operation with Germany at any price, even war with England. Laval's followers include such Parisian critics of the Vichy régime as Marcel Déat of *l'Oeuvre*, and the ex-Communist Jacques Doriot and his friends who continually assert that they are fully behind Pétain. Doriot's *Emancipation Nationale* takes part in the Vichy press campaigns against Déat while, at the same time, he endorses limitless rapprochement with Germany, though the Pétain Government has succeeded in considera-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bly reducing German interference, and such official Government organs as *Le Temps* (Vichy) and the *Journal des Débats* (Clermont-Ferrand), *Figaro* and the *Soir* (both now of Lyon), already celebrate the resurrection of France with an "undiminished position of world power."

Doriot's hybrid position may be the reason why the monarchist *Action Française*, under Charles Maurras, has begun to fight him, even going so far as to doubt his anti-communism. Doriot's indignation at Maurras' charges that he is continuing his Bolshevik agitation under cover may or may not be justified, but more characteristic than the chips that are flying from this mutual wielding of the axe is the fact that the quarrel is between two of the most important political leaders under the Pétain régime, the only two who have managed to carry with them some sort of political party organization from the Third Republic to the so-called New France. From the fall of France they have also salvaged the traditional French spirit of petty party quarrels.

Theoretically, the other innumerable parties of pre-War France still exist—they have been neither dissolved nor prohibited, except for the Communists—but the authoritarian character of the Vichy Government is inimical to their activity. And it is more than probable that their prolonged hibernation will become permanent death. Even before the War, French party life was in a state of advanced decay; both the Left and the Right adhered to their proven combination of ideology and election tactics, without bothering to formulate party policies toward foreign affairs. Since it was her external policy that decided the fate of France, it is natural that that should be the chief concern of the three new parties.

The Three Principles of the Free French

General De Gaulle has thus defined the three principles which form the basis of the movement of the Free French:

1. We are convinced that France is not conquered (*vaincue*).

2. In a war in which the destiny of France is bound to that of England and to that of their mutual allies we think that we are honor-bound to continue to fight side by side with them.

3. We refuse to recognize and do not consider valid the authority of a constitutionally irregular government, which furthermore is under the control of and subject to the enemy.

—*Le Jour*, Montreal

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Look to Your Moat

The Economist, London

THIS is the open season for Nazi menaces. By every channel that Goebbels' ingenuity can devise the threats are being uttered. The barges are ready in the Danube and in the French ports; the Stukas are waiting in Sicily and along the whole Continental cost; the bombers are being loaded up; the submarines are being fuelled; the poison-gas tubes rolled out; the invading divisions paraded. It is the most deadly Armada the world has ever known, and its size and weight are daily being magnified by rumor and report, by artful suggestion and "neutral" comment. There will be no moderation or reticence in the blows that Hitler has in store for us this year. He knows that 1941 may well be his last chance to win the war. We can be sure that he will stop at no devilry, that he will set no limits to the scope of the slaughter or to the magnitude of the resources he will throw into the attack. There will be no mercy for any of us in the onslaught—and still less if it should succeed.

It is as well that this should be realized. After the miracles of 1940, it was only natural that some grateful illusions should be cherished, and there were those in October and November who allowed themselves to think that the worst was passed, that the famous corner had once more been turned. It is Mr. Churchill's greatness as a leader that, just as he never abandoned his hopeful confidence in the Summer, he has never relaxed his vigilant warnings during the Autumn and Winter. Causes for rejoicing have been many: the brilliant offensives in Africa; the astonishing changes in American opinion and policy; the defeat of the day bomber. Each of them swells the hope of ultimate victory; none of them alters the fact that we can lose the war in 1941.

To the nation that kept its head all through 1940, there is nothing in this prospect to appall, but there is much that calls for resolution from the many and for clarity of vision from the few. There are two places where the war might be lost this year—the invasion beaches and the trade routes of the North Atlantic. In the war on shipping Hitler has already promised to do his worst; the chances of invasion rest on his generals' estimate of the risks—and perhaps on his own desperation. But whether they come or not, these are the two dangers. There are many ways of winning the war, but only these two of losing it outright. Let us fix our most watchful attention on the seas and the coasts. Once again, as in many past years, the watchword must be Halifax the Trimmer's: "Look to your Moat."

It is a high duty and privilege that fall to the British people this year. No one can help us very much. We shall get planes from America, perhaps

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

some ships; but the flood of American material will not begin to be ready until the battle of 1941 has been won and lost. Civilization has only one champion this year, and for the contest of the Spring almost all the cards are already on the table. The people of Britain must—and do—have confidence in the leaders who will have to play the hand, and there will be no hesitating or complaining among any whose orders are to throw away their tricks so that the game may be won.

The Shakespeare Cliff and the seaways of the ocean—these are the bastions that must be held. They are symbols of the strength, the spirit and the wide freedom for which Britain has always stood, and will always stand, in the world.

Trials of the Émigré Press

Apart from the newspapers and reviews, in English and other languages, which the Allied Governments are now publishing in England—such as *Free Europe*, edited by Casimir Smorgorzewski, the celebrated Polish publicist, *La France Libre*, or the *Central European Observer*, which for eighteen years was brought out in Prague—the armed forces of our allies are also issuing, mainly for the benefit of their own men, some very attractive little papers. That of the Belgian troops, *Vers l'Avenir*, appears both in French and in Flemish. That of the Czechs blossoms out now and then into an English edition.

Before I met these journalists in uniform the other day somewhere in England I had seen in a recent number of their paper how they usually operate. "After a carefully observed lunch interval," so it is written, "work is resumed at three, when visitors arrive to complain to the editor of his lack of understanding. The main crime he is accused of is that he has not yet found a way of crowding twenty varying points of view into the same amount of lines. Sometimes he succeeds in shaking off his adversaries and tries to work. The rest of the staff is meanwhile employed in outlining the main structure of tomorrow's edition, concocting the final outlay plan, controversies of varying violence, being rude to anyone who dares to come across them, and asking each other politely for cigarettes."

—Henry Baerlein in the *Manchester Guardian*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Persons and Personages

'Father of the Chin'

By Arthur Settel

FROM the Eastern border of the Arabian Peninsula to the desert sands on the west the name of John Bagot Glubb, otherwise known as Abu Huneik, Father of the Chin (his nick-name in the parlance of the Arabs), commands both fear and respect.

Major Glubb, a modern edition of Lawrence of Arabia, is, like his immortal namesake, one of Britain's mighty warriors and the shadowy obscurity that surrounds him in no way detracts from the glamor and romance that mark his activities.

The increasing possibility of a clash between the British forces in the Levant and the Vichy troops in Syria heightens the importance of this man who has streamlined the Arab armies on the eastern rim of the Mediterranean. If such a clash should come about, and the likelihood appears to be growing steadily of such an eventuality, this little Englishman will assume the role played by Lawrence a quarter of a century ago. On his shoulders there rests a responsibility no less great than that vested in General Wavell whose military genius has redeemed the Empire's position in Suez and in North Africa.

Major Glubb, O.B.E., M.C., is his Majesty's Commander-in-Chief of the Desert Patrol in Trans-Jordan. When Major Glubb was ordered from Iraq ten years ago to assume command of the Patrol then being established as a section of the Arab Legion, he was popularly referred to as the "younger Lawrence." The Desert Patrol at that time consisted of 800 men. His job was to bring its strength up to 2,500. Today this fighting force which is second to none in all of Arabistan is 75,000 strong and woe betide the enemy that may one day have to engage this unique force.

We hear little of Trans-Jordan, and less of its Desert Patrol; the anonymity which attaches to the work of Major Glubb is characteristic of most men of his type. Major Glubb has lived among the wild Beduin tribes since the first World War. He knows them and he speaks their dialects; like them he thrives in the desert; unlike them he is articulate and it is with almost tenderness that he speaks of his own nomadic way of life. To Major Glubb the desert has a personality of its own. He knows how to negotiate its terrors; he abides by its tradition-bound ethical code. In his daily life he observes with minute care the laws which govern desert society. Once

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Major Glubb gave an entertainment in camp to his Highness the Emir Abdulla of Trans-Jordan. The camp was pitched not far from the village of Wadi Musa near Petra, and a number of villagers, perhaps 500, arrived in the evening to pay their respects to his highness. Major Glubb had not counted on having so many guests but in accordance with the ancient tradition of Arab hospitality, he directed his tribesmen, all of them Beduins, to feed everyone present. Not only did the Major provide dinners of mutton and rice for 500 Arabs, but with a stroke of genius, served boiled rice and butter to the horses and donkeys of the visitors also. Where he procured these supplies in such a short time remains an official mystery to this day.

When Major Glubb was put in command of the police force of the Trans-Jordanian desert, the British Government apparently knew what it was doing. For this man was able, with English adaptability, to become one of the people. To win their confidence he lives their lives, manages somehow to digest their food, drinks their water (teeming with impurities), and sleeps by the ashes of their camp fires, rolled in a blanket. He removes the desert lice from his uniforms with dignity. It is these small details which have made Abu Huneik respected from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea and feared as much as he is respected.

An important link in the chain of Britain's defense of the Eastern Mediterranean is Major Glubb's mighty desert force whose members are bivouaced along the Palestine-Syrian frontier. Its presence is no mean factor in keeping the remnants of the Vichy Government's armies in their place. What is the Desert Patrol and how does it function?

This Patrol is one of the most remarkable police forces in the world. Like the famous French Foreign Legion it asks no questions of its recruits; and like the Legion its ranks include fugitives from justice and all parts of Arabia and the Near East.

Because control of the forces of the Trans-Jordanian desert means control of the great part of the Iraq Pipeline and the Baghdad-Haifa road—the former the "Jugular Vein of the Empire," the latter its "Spinal Column"—the maintenance of security during pre-war times in this region was of vital importance. Today the very lifeline of the Empire depends for its existence upon the manner in which Major Glubb and his desert patrol cooperate with the British Army of the Nile.

The Desert Patrol moves on camels, the fastest beasts in the world—some of them traveling at a rate of forty miles an hour. It has sixteen units of armored cars and its own air arm, a recent acquisition. The Patrol prevents

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

inter-tribal and trans-frontier raiding, suppresses tribal disorders and maintains an intelligence service—reputed to be of the highest quality. Founded by Lord Plumer in 1926, the Patrol has through the genius of its commanding officer made itself a terrifying agency of destruction. There is good reason to believe that in the event of trouble between British forces in the Near East and the Vichy armies in Syria, the victory of the former will be due to Major Glubb, Father of the Chin.

Making of a Nazi

By Marjorie McFarland

THE Germans are trying in Holland to dissociate nazism from quislingism by throwing Anton Adrian Mussert and his Dutch National Socialists overboard and creating a new Nazi party out of more respectable elements such as the powerful laborite Socialist Democratic party, ex-Communists, etc. Though Meinond Marinus Rost van Tonningen was for some years editor of the National Socialist *Het Nationale Dagblad* of Leiden and occupied one of the party's few seats in the Dutch Parliament, he was not so conspicuous politically during the invasion that the Germans consider him tarred with Mussert's brush, and they have selected him to convert the Dutch to nazism. So far he has had little success.

Rost van Tonningen has always been a man of unstable character, confused by contradictory inner voices, continually jumping from one side to the other. He has great abilities, but he has never been able to find peace in any kind of steady work. He began life with certain handicaps which he has not been able to overcome. His father was a general, an army commander in the East Indies. Little Anton was a spoiled youngest child. In the period of his youth, it was customary for the East Indian Dutch to send their children back to the Old Country at about the age of twelve. Rost van Tonningen was kept at home until the less-adjustable age of sixteen. After completing his secondary-school education in Holland, he enrolled in the Technical High School in Delft (corresponding to an engineering college in the United States). Two years later he decided that he had chosen the wrong career and changed to the University of Leiden to study law, where he found himself two years behind his contemporaries. His legal education completed, he became secretary to one of the arbitration commissions at The Hague, an unpaid position in which promising young lawyers secured practical training. Following this, he went to Geneva—still as a volunteer—to the International Labor Office. When, in 1922, the League of Nations assumed responsibility for the reconstruction of Austrian finances and set up an office in Vienna, Rost van Tonningen was employed as a member of the economic

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and financial staff. By the terms of the arrangement, the League sponsored a loan to the Austrian Government from a group of international bankers to be paid in monthly instalments on condition of League approval of Austrian financial plans. This close regulation was naturally irksome to the Austrians, and the League withdrew largely in 1926 but left Rost van Tonningen as "adviser" on the disposal of the balance of the loan.

WHEN this balance was exhausted, in 1929, Rost van Tonningen returned to the Netherlands to a research and advisory job in an old fashioned Amsterdam bank, Hope and Company. Hope and Company was a conservative organization; Rost van Tonningen was "modern" in his economic theories, he had had a taste of international authority and he was never inclined to tact, apt to be violent when opposed. It was an unhappy period in his life, and he was glad to return to Vienna when, in 1932, the League of Nations arranged another re-financing for Austria, on condition that she refrain from any union with Germany, political or economic, before 1952. (This was to counter the first attempts by the Nazis, following their initial successes in Germany, to gain immediate Anschluss with Austria as well. Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss' defiance of the Nazis gave him special financial consideration at the London Economic Conference.) This time, Rost van Tonningen was chosen as head representative of the League's Financial Committee and of the group of international bankers who provided the funds.

He did a good job, though the Austrians respected rather than liked him. At first, at least, he was an ardent admirer of Dollfuss and an honest anti-Nazi. He was prominent in the pre-Anschluss society of Vienna, where many of his intimates were Jewish. Dollfuss trusted him and used him for confidential missions to Berlin and Rome in an attempt to maintain Austria's delicate equilibrium between the two totalitarian powers. This glimpse behind the scenes of world politics seems to have gone to Rost van Tonningen's head. One version is that he suddenly became "converted" to National Socialism the first time he saw Hitler in the flesh. That sounds plausible, for Hitler's strongest personal influence has always been over such capricious—even if brilliant—intellects; his "magnetic power" has little effect on strong and steady minds. At any rate, Rost van Tonningen came to be a believer in nazism and fascism and is reputed to have played a double role during the latter part of his career in Vienna. He maintained his influence, however, until Dollfuss' murder in July 1934 by the Nazi Otto Planetta. Dollfuss' successor, Dr. Kurt Schuschnigg, did not trust Rost van Tonningen and relegated him strictly to his position as League adviser. Rost van Tonningen was dissatisfied, unresigned to comparative obscurity.

There was talk then of giving him a post in the Netherlands Ministry of Finance but, in spite of his excellent record in Vienna, he was considered too unstable. His ability was unquestioned, but he was an uneven,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

even an hysterical worker, accustomed to alternate periods of intense activity for long hours with other periods of collapse when he must have complete rest. Instead, he accepted an invitation to return home to stand for one of the National Socialist Parliamentary seats, at about one-tenth the income from his highly lucrative position in Vienna. That he was willing to do so—though he has expensive tastes—is indicative of his character. He puts power above financial gain and has a tendency to fanatical devotion to any cause which he espouses; his old friends are inclined to think that he has a sincerely patriotic belief in nazism as the best thing for Holland.

It is doubtful that the invitation back to Holland came from any personal enthusiasm of Mussert's for building up a possible rival. One grapevine report has it that Heinrich Himmler of the Gestapo is Rost van Tonningen's sponsor. Another is that he made a great impression upon Seyss-Inquart, the Austrian Nazi, now Reich Commissioner in the Netherlands, when the two knew each other in Vienna. (It is said that Musset's decline dates from the time when he tactlessly claimed to the Führer that Rost van Tonningen, who is very dark, has Javanese blood.)

Besides his Parliamentary duties, Rost van Tonningen—without previous journalistic experience—undertook to found and edit the *Het Nationale Dagblad*, which followed the usual Nazi tradition of hysterical vituperation. Those who had known him in the days when he was a sound and even brilliant banker and economist were amazed at the effect of his ideological conversion on his financial views. In Parliament he behaved with the violence of a nervous child, making himself thoroughly disliked by the staid Dutch legislators who even once took the unprecedented step of expelling him for creating a disturbance. At the same time, he was recognized as having one of the best brains in the Dutch National Socialist party—a group, however, which at its peak never had more than about 10,000 members.

He now detached himself entirely from the old friends of his early days in Holland, either cutting them on the street or stopping them to complain bitterly of their ill-treatment of him.

IMMEDIATELY upon the German occupation, he was appointed commissar for the Social Democratic party, the trade unions and other related organizations. On July 20, 1940, Rost van Tonningen himself told the Dutch, over the radio, of his new authority. He announced that Socialist workers had nothing to fear. They could, without danger, remain members of their party and of their trade unions. They could keep up their subscriptions to the party press. Party leaders were to retain their positions—all under the supervision of Rost van Tonningen. (More recently, Rost van Tonningen has been appointed head of the Netherlands Bank, succeeding Dr. Leonardus J. A. Trip who resigned rather than abrogate German-exchange regulations.)

The Social Democrats adopted a policy of "passive co-operation." The

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lists of their 90,000 members disappeared, as well as other documents. Rost van Tonningen raved, but his announcement that he was going to forbid the party in its old form and start a new organization to which "well-disposed" Socialists were to be admitted, came too late. The party had already, officially, shut up shop, of its own volition. He also found it hard to get his hands on the trade unions, and it turned out that their millions of guilders had been transferred to England before the Nazis took Holland. But there still remained such branch organization of the Social Democratic party as sports clubs, summer camps, trade schools, etc. These had hitherto been financially dependent on the party, so when Rost van Tonningen took them over, he had to support them as well—while their members resigned as fast as possible. He had a similar failure in his attempt to Nazify the Social Democratic press. Advertisements were cancelled and it is reported that subscriptions have declined 60 per cent under the new publishers.

The Nazis cannot understand why Rost van Tonningen is finding his assignment so difficult. To them, always more logical than imaginative, the Dutch are so closely related to the Germans, economically and ethnologically, that they should be enthusiastic about the New Europe. Germans do not understand "quixotic" Dutch loyalty to the House of Orange. They do not realize the faith of Hollanders that the Allies will win. Efficient themselves, the Dutch have seen the Germans in action as administrators and are more amused than impressed. They don't like having Seyss-Inquart as the final authority in their country, and they don't like a man like Rost van Tonningen in power, but they are not tragic about it. Earnest in their hatred, the Dutch still find Germans—or a Germanized Hollander—infinitely comic in a way that they find difficult to explain to outsiders, and ridicule is the cruelest revenge on a man of Rost van Tonningen's type.

Only once has he tried to make a public speech. A tremendous audience turned out as ordered but, before he could begin, it applauded with such enthusiasm—for an hour and a half—that he finally retired from the platform. He now talks exclusively on the radio.

Strong Man on Tight Rope

By Shah-Mir Effendi

A TURKISH statesman whose name will soon be familiar to American readers is the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Şükrü Saracoğlu (pronounced *Saradj-ohlu*), the man whose perilous duty it is to navigate his country through rapids and shoals of the present Balkan inferno.

Like all small nations of Europe which cannot stand alone in the storm, Turkey must choose as protector one of the two great rival powers now fight-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing for dominance of Europe and the Mediterranean, or she must maintain her equilibrium as a neutral. Whatever the aims of the warring powers may be does not concern or interest Turkey at this time. She does not elect herself as international referee. Her only concern is self-preservation. And Şükrü Saracoğlu believes this can best be secured by staying out of the conflict. Turkey is known to be among the two or three nations that bring forth the most courageous soldiers. But her equipment on land and sea and in the air is inadequate and insufficient. It is therefore Saracoğlu's difficult task to keep her out of the war. If this is accomplished, Turkey need not care which side is victorious. She will be safe.

Şükrü Saracoğlu was born about fifty years ago in the beautiful harbor city of Izmir (Smyrna). This queen among cities was founded two and a half millenniums ago by the Greeks, and is still rich in remnants of their classical culture. It is conceivable that their influence can be traced in his character, which combines strength with sensitiveness. However that may be, his family was well able to give him a good education. After passing through the usual schools he entered the University of Constantinople (now Istanbul) to study law.

The first decade of the twentieth century was a troubled one for Turkey. The hostile New and the Old were facing each other, each having its formidable partisans. The Young Turks hoped to rejuvenate their country by bringing her all the blessings of European civilization and industrialization, while Sultan Abdul Hamid, who had abundantly experienced the cruelty and chicanery of the European powers, believed that Turkey's safety lay in resolutely turning her back on Europe, in strengthening her position as leader of the Near East. These unsettled conditions in the nation's life could not help but have a deep effect on a boy and youth of sensitive intelligence. The student Saracoğlu was carried away by the aims of the Young Turks. When, in 1909, Sultan Abdul Hamid was forced to abdicate, he was one of those who rejoiced, thinking that their beloved country was well started along the road of rejuvenation.

It is almost impossible for anyone not knowing at first hand of Turkey's long martyrdom, to understand the love and boundless devotion a Turk feels for his country. After her unparalleled triumphs under the Sultans Mohammed the Conqueror (1451-81), Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-66) and Mohammed IV. (1648-87), Turkey's tragic downward road began. A road to Calvary it was, ever since the fateful days when Prince Eugène de Savoie routed her armies, and the disastrous Peace of Karlowitz was signed

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in 1699. From that time on, all the great powers of Europe, though at variance with each other, were united in their desire to destroy the Turkish Empire, which reached from the Baltic Sea to the Persian Gulf. They used every power at their command—force, treachery and mendacious propaganda—to snatch pieces of her living body, instigate her minorities to revolt, and bias the world's opinion against her people and her religion. A French writer has lately said that the Turkish nation and the Mohammedan religion are the most maligned in the history of the world.

After graduating from the University of Istanbul, Saracoğlu went to Switzerland further to equip himself as a leader of his country. He obtained his law degree from the University of Lausanne, and then returned to Turkey. Soon afterward he became a follower of Mustafa Kemâl, whose star was slowly rising, as that of the Young Turks paled.

The terms of the Armistice, the arrogance of the occupying armies, gave Turkey a bitter foretaste of the "peace" to come. Turkish officers and intellectuals were meeting secretly, in the capital as well as in provincial towns, forming groups that were fanatically determined to resist the Allies, even if it should mean annihilation. It was at this time of flaming patriotism, of conspiracies and revolts, that Kemâl's Nationalist Movement was born.

There is no need to recall at great length to Americans the career of the first of the four dictators who arose after the war to rescue their countries. He was, of course, Mustafa Kemâl, the Great Gazi, Atatürk. Nor does his close collaborator Ismet Inönü, the dashing horseman, the fiery officer, now President of Turkey, need an introduction. Saracoğlu threw in his fate with these two men, at a time when to do so was a daring and dangerous choice. With all his young exaltation he joined the intrepid group that followed eagerly, wherever their commanders led them. Health, wealth, family, friends, life itself, were readily sacrificed on the altar of patriotism. And finally, after overcoming obstacles which had seemed humanly insurmountable, victory was won. Turkey, though robbed of all her possessions, was saved in national essence; young and vivid once more, she arose from the dead as the Republic of Turkey.

SARACOĞLU served his country as deputy from Izmir, Minister of Finance and delegate to the Paris negotiations on the Ottoman debt. During 1932-38 he held the post of Minister of Justice. Since 1938 he has been Minister of Foreign Affairs, and as such signed the mutual-assistance pact with France and England in 1939. It has been claimed by foreign journalists that he is "anti" this side, and "pro" that one. Such labels are misleading. Saracoğlu's undivided and undiluted loyalty is with Turkey. He will not take one step to help or hinder any other nation. He will not take a step that is not directly and completely to the advantage of Turkey. This singleness of purpose is the best guarantee for his success.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In Defense of 'Pressure'

By J. WILLIAM TERRY

(Editor's Note: Since the beginning of the year, the introduction of much controversial legislation in Congress, together with certain drastic moves by the executive branch of the Government, have given rise to the birth of various national "citizens' committees" in support and in opposition. Some of these "pressure" committees have obtained such influence that the criticism has been levelled that the nation is confronted with a plague of minority committees which have gained support and funds by ballyhoo measures and mail-order methods that delude the public as to the real objectives, and which are not entirely legitimate. The article following is a defense of the methods of at least two of the most influential groups, one agitating every practical measure of aid for the Allies, the other opposed to any steps that might lead the country into war.)

WHEN some Senators who were opposed to the Lend-Lease Bill made a tentative venture at fillibuster against the measure, friends of the bill said: "The America First Committee is getting in its licks." When the Senate passed the bill, its chief opponent, Senator Wheeler, deplored the vote as a victory for the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. Various commentators, press and radio, had something to say about "government by committees" and "mail order government," while some others who are more prone to academic language talked of the new vitality of the "pressure groups." The committees insist that they are promoting government by the people and admit they are pressure groups—hoping that theirs is high pressure.

Public committees we, of course, always have with us; but it is in the current plethora of committees in general that two of what may be called committees on national policy have acquired unprecedented potency, especially in regard to relationship of the United States to the second World War.

For twenty-three years, there has been high confusion, freighted with rumor and suspicion, about forces playing upon public opinion and emotion just before we entered the War in 1917. So little clarification has been possible in nearly a quarter of a century that the rumor and suspicion born in February and March 1917—that international bankers, munition makers and the British pushed us into the War with powerful underground propaganda—are still rumors and suspicions. Because we went into the War,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

we have pretty much forgotten the rumors and suspicions on the other side —that German propaganda and German subsidized pacifists were responsible for the drive against our taking up arms. Not Senator Nye's munitions investigation nor any of the many unofficial researchers have been able to prove or disprove that there was a disguised and secretly promoted propaganda to take us into the War. Ironically those of us (including this writer) who were most sure, in 1917, that there was such pro-war propaganda, have lived to be told by the German propagandist, George Sylvester Viereck, that some of our pacifist societies, unknown to themselves, were at one time subsidized by Wilhelmstrasse to the tune of some $2,000 a day.

Whether or not we take up arms in this war, there need be no great future confusion about how American public opinion was crystallized; at least not in so far as the committees for national action are concerned. There is nothing subterranean about these committees. Whatever they do is from the housetops. Having been asked to write this article "from the inside," I find myself completely devoid of material for an exposé; and I have known the workings of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies inside out from their beginnings.

LAST May when the Nazis were invading the Low Countries, William Allen White and Clark M. Eichelberger agreed that there should be an organization for making vocal the belief that the nations of Western Europe which were resisting aggression constituted America's "first line of defense," and should have full American economic and moral support. Mr. White sent a telegram to sixty outstanding Americans, asking them to participate in forming such a committee. Twenty-four hours after the telegram was sent it was possible to issue a press release naming fifty-three charter members, including Colonel Henry L. Stimson, Governor Herbert H. Lehman, Colonel Frank Knox and Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler. On June 10, when the Nazis were sweeping over a crumbling France, the playwright Robert E. Sherwood wrote a full-page newspaper advertisement and, together with some of his friends, financed its publication in seventeen large dailies. It said: "Stop Hitler Now." The new committee offices at New York were overrun with men and women who had read the ad and wanted to help stop Hitler. Letters and checks came from every part of the country. The letters gave the group working in New York the idea and the nucleus for forming local chapters. By far the greater number of the Committee's more than eight hundred chapters were organized by mail.

Mr. White and Mr. Eichelberger had long been known for their devout advocacy of peace. Neither of them had ever hobnobbed with munition-makers and the most sensitive nostrils could not detect on them the faintest odor of Wall Street. The same can be said for Ernest W. Gibson, Jr., former Senator from Vermont, who took over the national chairmanship when William Allen White retired from active leadership of the Committee. The list

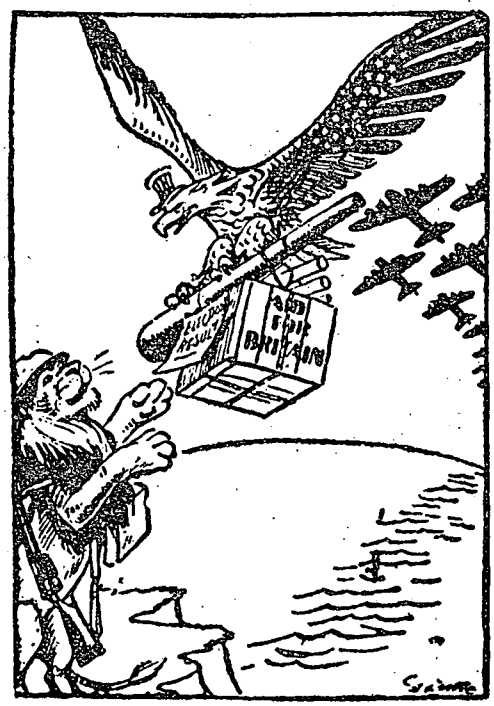
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of committee members (now numbering 604 Americans who have joined only on invitation) certainly is no war-party roster, and includes the names of comparatively few habitual joiners or professional utopianists. The list of financial contributors as published in the press (all contributors of $100 or more) shows the Committee to be without an "angel" and free from the financial strings by any individual or class.

THE America First Committee had its beginnings in a group of Yale students who interpreted the history of 1917-20 as warning to the United States to stay within its own frontiers when Europe is in turmoil. Twenty-six-year-old R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., became so strong in the conviction that America's peril, instead of its first line of defense, was in Europe, that he left his studies in Yale Law School to organize Americans to resist the program of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. Out in Chicago, Mr. Stuart's home city, General Robert E. Wood gave a seasoned business man's hand to Mr. Stuart and became chairman of the new committee. General Hugh Johnson, Scripps-Howard columnist from the military ranks [now with Hearst], and John T. Flynn, Scripps-Howard columnist from the ranks of pacifists, joined up. Among others there were Irvin Cobb, Mrs. Alice Roosevelt Longworth, Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark and Bishop Wilbur E. Hammaker. However much some of us believe that the policies they advocate would be calamitous, these are not folk to devise and promote unpatriotic chicanery nor to make a plaything of an unprecedented national emergency.

Full-page newspaper advertisements were a chief medium for the call by the America First Committee to the American people, as they were of the Aid-the-Allies organization. "Peace at Home or War Abroad" was America First's initial headline. Men and women who believed that isolation is America's best defense heeded the call. The America First Committee now has more than 650 chapters.

Probably the most important thing to be said in evaluating these two committees is that in achievement, at least, they are not proselyting, but are mobilizing and vocalizing. Not all committee officers and members will agree that this is true. However, converts made by either committee will not be easy to find. William Allen



—*Daily Express*, London

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

White has frequently said: "I doubt that our Committee has made any converts. What it has done is help crystallize sentiment already existing."

NOT that committees would hesitate to proselyte if they could, or that it would be reprehensible. But committee-made propaganda at its best is feeble for influencing convictions as against the terrific force of today's events. The charge that the committees are exploiting fear is as reasonable as to accuse an air-liner pilot of exploiting fear in a situation which required him to urge his passengers to put on their parachutes and bail out. People are afraid of what is inherent in the problems with which the committees deal. People fear war and they fear the consequences of Hitlerian aggression. It has been demonstrated that when the Nazis are sweeping forward sentiment for aid to the Allies rises; when news is favorable to the Allies or the battlefronts are quiet, isolationist sentiment increases. It is nonsense to talk about one of the committees edging the United States into the war and the other committee maneuvering the country into support of an appeasement peace. Events, not committees, move the nation.

There is nothing novel about the publicity—propaganda, if you prefer—methods of the committees. Competent speakers must be selected from an abundance of volunteers and opportunities created for them to speak. Local chapters are partial to personal appearances of film stars. They draw good crowds. What is more, some of them know much about the world in chaos and are clear and forceful in saying what they believe should be done about it. There is "literature" to be distributed; three and one-half million pieces of it have been distributed by the Aid-the-Allies Committee up to April 1. If these pamphlets, graphs and broadsides, if the speeches over the air, at mass meetings, open forums, club meetings, etc., do not make converts they do clarify issues; they convince of the urgency for action; they make clear for many men and women the reason for the faith that is in them. There are news releases for the press and feature articles; also there are matters of posters and billboard displays.

Many of the pamphlets and most of the broadsides and newspaper advertisements carry the "Write your Senators and Representatives" appeal. The America First Committee used classified ads in urging letters and wires to Senators against the Lend-Lease Bill. A big job of local chapters is to get letters and telegrams sent to Washington for or against legislation or contemplated administrative action—with the Aid-the-Allies Committee most often for, and America First most often against.

Pressure groups, yes. The term is effectively definitive, but unfortunately tarnished by pressure of organized minorities pretending to be majorities, pressure from behind masks, and vested-interest pressure.

The late Wayne B. Wheeler, of Anti-Saloon League fame, is credited with inventing the technique of organizing a minority to give it strength and articulateness impossible for the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PALO ALTO
PUBLIC LIBRARY
READING ROOM

unorganized majority. The technique has been used frequently since Mr. Wheeler's day to defeat the majority will. The Communists invented and the Nazi-Fascists make use of—as they do of many Communist inventions—the masked pressure technique, through "front" organizations. These exert pressure for one thing to aid something else; as pressure for American isolationism under patriotic shibboleths but for the purpose of aid to Hitler, in harmony with the Moscow party line and the Axis objectives. The long-practiced pistol-to-the-head pressure by certain vested interests seeking special privileges makes the worst sins of the public-policy pressure organizations look like righteousness, and yet we seldom get hot and bothered about the vested-interest pressurites.

No member of the Congress who is vaguely worth his votes but can evaluate the letters, telegrams and petitions coming to him in consequence of public-committee "pressure" campaigns. Petitions, I am told, do not count for much. Amiable persons and hurrying persons may sign without reading. Numbers of similarly phrased telegrams, letters or postcards, create suspicion of having been unduly "inspired." Numbers of letters and postcards signed by the same hand create the presumption of single authorship. Stalinites, Bundists, Coughlinites and those of kindred groups tend to vituperation, even unprintable vulgarity. But experienced secretaries of Senators and Representatives undoubtedly have an eye for this various stuff which belongs to bulging "defective ballot" files.

Of genuine consequence are the activities of the many patriotic, sound-minded Americans who write, wire, sometimes telephone, and even sometimes visit one end or the other of Pennsylvania Avenue, to press for or against specific proposed policy or legislation. Many intelligent, well and favorably known citizens exercise their right to urge—by letter, wire, petition or word of mouth—specific action by their representatives in Washington with the same conscientiousness and diligence as they exercise their right of suffrage. Many of them consider exercise of their right to petition a duty concomitant with that of the ballot. When they make their appeals as part of an organized pressure, instead of a hit-or-miss following of individual impulse, they are practicing patriotic good sense. When they write or wire Washington at the urging of a public-policy committee, they say what they believe as truly as if they wrote or wired as lone wolves. The men in Washington know this. Committees or no committees, a thousand or more constituents do not communicate with a Senator in a single day or week urging action about which they have no intense concern. This, the men in Washington also know. Hence, when the thousand or more letters and telegrams arrive they are given heed.

WITH both sides of the vital issue over how best to defend America organized for pressure, there is no question of an organized minority being able to assume the guise of the majority. Moreover, when committees reach the magnitude of the CDAAA

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and America First, they can call forth expressions from so wide a cross-section of the American people as fairly to represent American opinion.

There are, to be sure, handicaps to effective service of these committees to the functioning of democracy. One handicap is in certain elements which attach themselves to the committees. But Mr. Roosevelt did not kick Earl Browder off the Democrats' band wagon in 1936, and Mr. Willkie did not drive Father Couglin *et al.*, off the Republican reservation in 1940. Hence, it is at least understandable why the America First Committee is not emphatic in denouncing the support it receives from Bundists, Stalinists, Coughlinites, etc., and why the CDAAA is tolerant of the attitude of its Anglophile friends who try to cloak with sanctity the British Empire, past and present, India, Africa and all the rest of it.

By and large, responsible Americans manifest careful discrimination in their support of committees. Various committees which were started for the purpose of functioning in the fields occupied by the two under discussion have never gotten off the ground. Verne Marshall, Iowa editor, who called himself "the wild man out of the West," created an ephemeral splash in the press with his No Foreign War Committee. But when he refused to reveal his financial backing, while extolling William Rhodes Davis, who attempted to promote an oil deal between Mexico and Germany, the No Foreign War Committee tobogganed to innocuous desuetude.

It would be foolish to predict that public-policy committee activities will be enduringly a part of our democratic processes. The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies and the America First Committee have developed more or less spontaneously, to meet definite vital needs in this unprecedented emergency. It may turn out that their growth and influence are phenomena peculiar to this tragic epoch. But, in this epoch, their methods have served well. The committees have helped to arouse the American people to awareness of their responsibilities in face of great peril; they have helped to clarify the issues involved in cardinal problems demanding quick solution; to unite for effective co-operation citizens of like minds on these issues; to enlighten the government on the will of the people; and to bring pressure by the people upon their government for action in accord with the majority will. If this is not democracy in action then this writer, at least, is under grave misapprehension as to the nature of democracy.

Defeatists in Britain

Defeatists are busy, spreading sedition, aggravating grievances, making the worst of everything.

While all the rest of the nation have won, with their courage, the admiration of the world, this is their most contemptible hour.

Never did so many stand so much from so few.

—Hannen Swaffer in the *Daily Herald*, London

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Arts and Letters Abroad

The Spirit and the Troglodytes

By Eugene Jolas

EUROPE engulfed in the robot wave continues to practice the art of literary expression. "In a larger sense," says a recent issue of the London *Times Literary Supplement*, "the servants of the arts in all nations still speak a common language, through which they may have a contribution to offer to the building of peace." The totalitarian suppression of free utterance is unable to stop the ideological fermentations, and even in fettered nations a political and moral renascence finds voice in creative work that comprises all genres of literature.

In Great Britain life is now so organized that most energy in labor and material is used exclusively for purposes of war. The magazines published in England are having a certain difficulty, because of the paper shortage, and talk has been heard of a plan to divert the paper ration to periodicals that serve the war effort. Energies that do not come within the category of war necessity are being reduced and switched to more organic ends. A large space, however, is still reserved for all endeavors of high literary manifestations. Experiments and researches and experiences in pure letters go on.

Pamphleteering seems to be gaining in popularity. This great English tradition, which seemed to have fallen into disuse since the end of the Fabian discussions, is being revived with a vengeance. The book trade has been active in the publication of numerous brochures dealing with blueprints for a new democratic world order. The frankness with which these highly controversial subjects are dealt with is a tribute to the liberalism of the régime. The best minds are busy clearing the ground for a march to a new vision of society—either basing themselves on a democratic socialism or a radical conservatism—but the defeat of fascism is always the imperative premise.

The most sensational publication in this field is *The Betrayal of the Left*, edited by Victor Gollancz, with contributions by members of the former pro-Soviet Left. It is a frontal attack on revolutionary defeatism and emphasizes the inherent contradictions of the Marxist die-hards. The subtitle is a long one: "An examination and refutation of Communist policy from October 1939 to January 1941, with suggestions for an alternative and an epilogue on political morality." It is a collective protest against the Communist tactics since the change of line in October 1939, and the *volte-face* which

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ended in the People's Congress. It is the declaration of faith by Left-Wing writers whose conversion to an anti-Fascist war policy is revealed. The alternative advocated is "war on two fronts—war against Hitlerism and war against the profit system."

Herbert Read, in *To Hell With Culture: Democratic Values Are New Values*, tries to analyze a hypothesis for the artist's position in the new world to come. He goes back to the theories of William Morris and makes a powerful assault on our mass civilization and its tyranny of the machine. "Culture," he says, "is an artificial substitute which took the place of instinctive values lost when industry destroyed the handiworkers' tradition. True culture was divorced from work; the artist was separated from the workman."

Other pamphleteers are: Francis Williams, W. M. MacMillan, Tom Wintringham, Ritchie Calder, Sir R. George Stapledon, George Orwell. Francis Williams, in *What Are We Waiting For? A Call to Britain*, insists that "this is a war of ideas," and that "democracy today faces its greatest challenge, but also its greatest opportunities." He proposes a radical leftist solution, calls for many social changes, but emphasizes that fascism remains the enemy to be fought. Others deal with revolutionary conceptions for army reform, agricultural exploitation, colonial reform and general reconstruction. George Orwell, in *The Lion and Unicorn*, proposes a new English socialism for the future, in which the middle class will be eliminated.

John Strachey, in a new book, *A Faith to Fight For*, gives us the results of his musings on the spiritual values of the struggle. He has been in an A.R.P. warden's post since the beginning of the bombardments, and his opinions are the results of his Marxist disillusionment since the Communist change of heart. "That old, blind, obstinate instinct which made us fight for London, instead of 'sensibly' surrendering like Paris, arose in us, not only because we did not fancy being a subject people, but also because we did still believe in something, even though we had forgotten its name. We obscurely knew, this last September, that there was something which must not, and should not, perish from the earth."

An interesting phenomenon of the creative activity during the bombardments is the emergence of air-raid newspapers and magazines. The recent publication of the *St. James' Lyre and Picadilly Gazette*, in a beautiful binding, will be welcome to collectors of first editions. The profits on sale will go to the St. James' Bomber Fund. It contains the first twelve weekly numbers—from October 1, 1940 to December 17, 1940—of the "unofficial organ of the A.R.P. posts at St. James's and City of Westminster, and of the air-raid shelters within this area." This little magazine is still being published under the editorship of "Pluto," whose humor illuminates the catacomb hours.

THE publishers' spring lists are rather late this season, due to the bombings and the shortage of labor. An interesting preface written by the house of Collins states: "Working con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ditions are not as easy as they were. The bomb that robbed Buckingham Palace of some of its windows shattered some of our windows in Pall Mall. Our City office was completely destroyed in the big fire. Many members of our staff, including two of our directors, are serving with His Majesty's Forces; many others devote their hours to Home Guard or to Civil Defense duties. Our office boy has reappeared in the uniform of the R.A.F. These experiences, and many worse, have been shared by most publishing houses. But publishing carries on. The public wants good books and new books, to stimulate its mind. It is up to us to provide them."

The tragedy of France continues to occupy the writers and historians. A spate of books is pouring from the presses. *The Truth About France*, by Louis Lévy explains the collapse in terms of political decadence. As a leading member of the Socialist party, and a prominent proponent of the *Front Populaire*, he is able to shed new light on the weakness of the party. He blames particularly the maneuverings of the Radical party, and its violent contradictions during the past three years.

Out of the silence of occupied France there has come the first intellectual manifestation since the invasion. The Free French Forces in London, during a radio broadcast, read a manifesto drawn up by eminent French writers, scholars, and educators from Nazi-occupied France. It states their faith in the triumph of Great Britain and Free France. "Where are all those intellectuals, men of thought and science, who in all the crises of history raised the voice of reason and honor, and who today are holding their peace, while honor and reason are trampled underfoot?" the manifesto asks. "If they have said nothing until now it is because their voice has been brutally stifled; but the sender of this message is the spokesman of many intellectuals with whom he has joined, or who have come to him spontaneously, to work for liberation and defense. . . . Friends, in France and everywhere, be assured that we have not accepted and do not accept surrender and shame as well as defeat. . . . The true France is not the minority which submitted to, if it did not cause, a capitulation without honor, and which abandoned and renounced a faithful companion in arms, breaking a sacred pact; or is it the mob of politicians and journalists who, in the service of a slave press and wireless, praise the conqueror of today and insult the ally of yesterday. . . . We are full of confidence. We are with you. . . ."

THAT erudite organ of the De Gaulle forces in London, *La France Libre*, is continuing to defend eternal France. Besides purely literary evaluations of French letters, we find there illuminating essays on political and philosophical subjects of current interest. The last issue contains an essay on French Alsace by E. Roudolphie which throws a singular light on this burning question. "At the moment," he says, "when Alsace and Lorraine are abandoned and returned to the Reich before any peace negotiations, as a result of the armistice concluded at Bor

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

deaux, the protest read in the name of the Alsatians and Lorrainers from the tribune of the Assembly of Bordeaux on January 17, 1871, by Emile Keller, deputy of the Haut-Rhin, lives once more. That declaration concluded with: 'We herewith proclaim ever inviolable the rights of the Alsatians and Lorrainers to remain members of the French nation, and we swear, for ourselves and our children and their descendants, to be eternally against all usurpers.' " After analyzing the state of mind of Alsace-Lorraine under the German occupation before 1919 and its never-ceasing dissidence to the Prussian idea, the writer states: "In June 1940, the Government of Bordeaux decided to ask for an armistice. It has accepted the conditions of the conqueror. Secret clauses are probably added to the public clauses: one of these secret clauses demands the cession of the two frontier provinces to the Reich. The Nazi administration, before any treaty of peace has been signed, has taken them over. It has started the exploitation of the country and the expulsion of Frenchmen to be replaced by Teutons. It is the terrible tragedy of these border lands to constitute for centuries the playball of wars and rivalries between France and her hereditary enemy. Therefore it is necessary that Free Alsatians and Lorrainers raise their voices and speak in the name of their brothers. They appeal to all people of heart, to the valorous armies of Free France of General De Gaulle and Great Britain, that they may be reunited to the motherland from which they have so cruelly been torn."

The problem of the expatriate writer during the progress of the war is discussed with bitterness in the public prints.

SOME of them, of course, like W. H. Auden, now in America, have foresworn their allegiance to revolutionary Marxism or *prolet-kultur* and are now seeking a metaphysical direction. But their absence from the war scene apparently is causing a plethora of denunciations. Auden, Isherwood, Heard, Huxley, Barker are now in the United States, and Stephen Spender made an angry attack on their position recently. Louis MacNeice, the Ulster Irish poet, tries to explain their decisions in an essay, "The Traveller's Return," which appeared in a recent issue of *Horizon*. He had been in the United States for ten months: "You cannot forget the War in America," he states, "but you cannot visualize it. I could visualize it myself so long as the '*Sitzkrieg*' persisted, and during that period I had no wish to return to a Chamberlain England. From June on I wished to return, not because I thought I could be more *useful* in England than in America, but because I wanted to see these things for myself; my chief motive thus being vulgar curiosity, my second motive was no less egotistical: I thought that if I stayed another year out of England I should have to stay out for good, having missed so much history, lost touch."

Stephen Spender, whose pre-war Marxist direction has now changed to a spiritual orientation, said: "The only question worth asking about Auden, Isherwood, Heard, Huxley, is not

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

whether they have run away on this particular occasion, but whether they think there is a chance of escaping from this history altogether." MacNeice replies: "For the expatriate there is no Categorical Imperative bidding him return—or stay. Auden, for example, working eight hours a day in New York, is getting somewhere; it might well be 'wrong' for him to return. For another artist who felt he was getting nowhere it might be 'right' to return. In my own case, if I had stayed in America, I do not suppose I should have felt morally guilty, though I might have felt *instinctively* so; not being on the track of a synthesis and being more attached to things than to ideas I might have felt I was only marking time in America. . . . The expatriates do not need anybody else to act as their ersatz conscience; they have consciences of their own and the last word must be said by their own instinct as artists."

FRANCE loses one of her last great symbolist poets with the recent death of Edouard Dujardins, at the age of eighty years. There was a resurgence of interest in his work immediately after the publication of *Ulysses* in Paris, when James Joyce announced that he had adapted the *monologue intérieur* from a technique invented in 1887 by Dujardins in his little novel *Les Lauriers sont Coupés* An amusing story went the rounds of Paris in the early thirties, when the French translation of James Joyce's *Anna Livia Plurabelle* was read in a Left Bank bookshop before distinguished listeners. During the reading, an American poet, somewhat the worse for alcoholic indulgence, kept interrupting the attention of the listeners by imitating a certain *grimace* made by the aged French poet. Dujardins suddenly rose from his seat and gave the irreverent poet a terrific box on the ears which echoed through the room.

From Marseille comes news that a number of well-known writers and painters have finally started their emigration to the United States. Among them are André Breton, Benjamin Péret and André Masson. News from Zurich, Switzerland, is to the effect that a *James Joyce Memorial* has just been issued there. It contains the texts of the funeral speeches given at his burial in the Swiss cemetery near the Zuerichberg. A death mask taken by friends is a feature of this tribute to the Irish exile.

Nazis' Use for Stockings

It is well known that the Germans in Paris bought up all the silk stockings they could get hold of. What, however, is not so well known is that most of these stockings were not intended as presents for a lady's legs, but were patiently unravelled for thread for the manufacture of parachutes.

—*Le Jour*, Montreal

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Straws in the Gale

Signs of the Times

"Cremated but not defeated. We have taken our ashes to 101 Hatton Garden."

"Strafed but not stumped. We are hobbling along at 131 Fleet Street."

And on the premises of a local painter: "Destroyed through professional jealousy."

—*Bulletins From Britain*

Black-out Victim

"You have never kissed so wonderfully before, Laura. Why is that? Because we are in a black-out?"

"No. It's because my name is Vera."

—*Svenska Dagbladet*, Stockholm

Anti-Climax

A story is told of a well-known Presbyterian divine who flourished in Ulster many years ago. After exhorting a back-slider among his flock long, earnestly—and vainly—he raised his clenched fist—it was no small one: "You'll go to hell," he thundered. "You'll go to hell as surely as I'll crush that fly." The fist descended, but the insect avoided fate, and buzzed away unharmed. The chagrined minister silently followed its flight. "Well, well," he said at length, reluctantly, "I am afraid, though he was a good man, the Lord is merciful and long-suffering. There may be a chance for you yet."

—*Irish Digest*, Dublin

Mistaken Identity

There is a German broadcaster who, speaking to "the workers of England," uses the most appalling swear-words in the desire to be matey.

A friend turned him on by mistake.

When she heard Ernest Bevin referred to in language that would turn this paper blue if it were printed, his mother-in-law said:

"That is very wrong of the B.B.C."

—*Daily Herald*, London

Bantu Immortality

I went to church the other day to be godfather to one offspring of a friend of mine. The child was named Hitler! I cannot conceive what secret ideals the parent had in thus naming his son. . . . During the lustrious genuineness of the late Sir Neville Chamberlain, many a boy baby has been named after him. This naming did not come naturally, but it has been fussy and inaugurated by the momentary ambition of immortality.

—Correspondent in *The Bantu World*, South Africa

Vox Pop

British children stick to milk
British men stick to beer
Americans stick to whisky
The British Navy sticks to rum
The Italian navy sticks to
P O R T *(Fleet Street poster)*

—*World Digest*, London

Miserere

"I noticed that you cried when my daughter sang those beautiful Russian songs. Are you a Russian that they touched you so deeply?"

"No, madame, but I teach singing."

—*Il 420*, Florence

What's That Again?

Another company to suffer severely from the effects of taxation is Rhokana Corporation. In a preliminary statement issued this week the directors say that "very large provisions will have to be made to satisfy the liabilities for income tax and excess profits tax." For this reason, despite larger profits, the final dividend is reduced from 25 to 15 per cent, making 40 per cent for the year, against 50 per cent.

—Financial Page, *The Observer*, London

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Perils of War

A New York doctor claims he can cure snoring. It is quite evident that America is taking A.R.P. problems very seriously.

—*Punch*, London

To Pin Medals on Him

"And that, my son," concluded the veteran, "is the story of your father and the World War."

"Yes, Papa. But why did they need all the other soldiers?"

—*Weltwoche*, Zurich

The Blind Eye

My reference to the Eton boy who tried to go to Ascot races disguised as a French officer has brought me, from an O.E. of an earlier generation, the story of a still more heroic effort.

It took place in the 'eighties, and the scene was not Ascot, but Windsor racecourse. Two racehorse owners each had a younger brother at Eton. They smuggled their brothers to Windsor racecourse, and there, in full Eton dress, top hats and all, the two boys rode a competition race.

Next morning a report of the race appeared in the press. Journalism was less descriptive then. The riders' names were given, but there was no reference to their clothes.

The housemaster of one of the boys read the report. His comment to the quaking offender was a masterly example of turning the blind eye. "What a curious coincidence," he observed, "that your brother should employ a jockey with his own surname and your initials."

—Lord Peterborough in the *Daily Telegraph and Morning Post*, London

And Fifth Columnese

Learn French, Italian, German for controlling subjugated enemies after war. Very good pronunciation. Easily taught by —.

—Advt. in the *Berkeley and Sharpness Gazette*, England

Children's Corner

Question: What is the difference between an Inspector of Fisheries, the Gallup Survey and the Minister of Information?

Answer: An Inspector of Fisheries views our nets, the Gallup Survey nets our views, and the Minister of Information vets our news.

—"Dogberry" in the *News Chronicle*, London

Belch Militaire

An old soldier was telling his story. "So," he said, "we started out from Wipers. . . . "

"Ypres," said the old lady.

"Well, as I was saying, we started out from Wipers. . . . "

"Ypres," said the old lady.

"We set off, as I say, from Wipers. . . ."

"Ypres," said the old lady.

"Cor, you ain't 'alf got 'iccups," said the soldier.

—"The Idler" in the *Natal Mercury*, South Africa

—*Sunday Times*, Johannesburg

The Long View

They were telling the story in London a few weeks ago. Today it seems even more appropriate. Two middle-aged Italian business men met in a street in Milan. "How's business?" asked one.

"Very much better," said the other.

"Better?" cried the first in surprise.

"Yes, very much better than next year," the other explained.

—Leonard Bright in the *Rand Daily Mail*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the event of war, the problem of guarding against sabotage will be more complex than in 1917-18

Whom Will the U.S. Intern?

By Stephen Naft

INFINITELY more complex problems of internal defense will confront the United States, if it enters the War, than it faced during World War I. Chief among these problems will be that of internment of individuals hostile to American intervention —once they have been apprehended, which may not be so simple a task. In 1917-18, on the one hand there were certain abuses in the internment procedure followed, while on the other there was also a considerable quantity of sabotage committed by aliens who should not have been at large. The problem of locating dangerous aliens, or those potentially dangerous, and the various measures that should be taken to guard against sabotage, is one of vast complication. Common sense dictates that mob action and anti-alien hysteria must be prevented, but at the same time it is obvious that a serious outbreak of industrial sabotage could nullify America's war effort and win the struggle for Germany.

It is well to remember that World War I was a war of nations, and that so far as the problem of aliens was concerned, agents of the Department of Justice had only to maintain surveillance over German nationals in this country—the number of German-Austrians, Bulgarians and Turks in the United States during that period was negligible. The present War, however, is not one of nations alone. It is a war of conflicting ideologies, and the potential enemies of this country cannot be easily ranged according to their national allegiances. There are, for example, a certain number of American citizens who, consciously or otherwise, are enemies of the democratic status quo, and some of these are third-generation Americans. In other words, the ideological loyalties and enmities in this world revolution are a much more

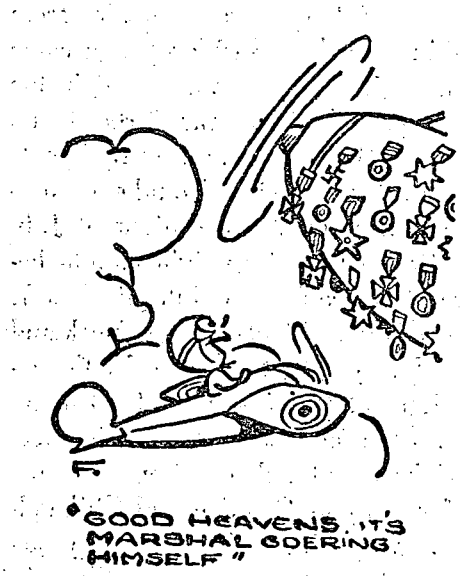
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

potent factor in the situation than that of mere national loyalties.

In point of fact, there are only 5,000,000 persons classified as aliens in this country. But there are approximately 12,600,000 foreign-born residents here, many of whom continue to live in their own native, transplanted environment, and millions of them read newspapers (and propaganda publications) published in their own languages and printed here. For many of them, American citizenship has meant no more than handing over five dollars to a clerk of the Department of Labor, that sum representing insurance against deportation.

According to the last published census (1930), the total number of individuals in the United States classified as "white, foreign stock" was nearly 39,000,000. It should be noted that in "white, foreign stock," the Census Bureau includes those individuals of American birth, one or both of whose parents are foreign born. Of this total, 6,873,000 originated from Germany, with 1,609,000 individuals of German birth, and 4,547,000 originated from Italy, of whom 1,790,000 were born in Italy. It is obvious that the United States cannot consider, in the event of war, interning some 11,500,000 persons of "foreign stock" or, for that matter, even the 3,400,000 individuals who were born in Axis Nations, although that is precisely what has been done by all of the present belligerents, even in the case of naturalized citizens.

By reason of our number of aliens, and of naturalized subjects of Axis Nations, the task of the United States, should the necessity of interning them arise, will be a more arduous one than in any of the nations now at war. There is no simple mechanical or statistical operation by which the Federal Government could put all "enemy aliens" behind barbed wire; even if it were feasible, the result would be both grossly unjust and inefficient. By far the majority of American-born individuals here of German and Italian stock are interested only in earning a better living than they were able to in the countries of their origin; that holds true also of the foreign-born Germans and, particularly, of foreign-born Italians. Only a small percentage of this fraction of the population is interested



—*Aeroplane*, London

in politics. The fact is that a substantial number of the Italian and German immigrants in the United States are more determined and fanatical enemies of the fascist régimes in their native lands than are some native-born Americans who, until recently, freely expressed the belief that Hitler and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mussolini were public benefactors in their respective countries.

It may be safely assumed that few Jewish immigrants from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia would represent any threat to a United States at war with the Axis. Of all the inhabitants here of foreign stock, only the few thousand Japanese can be regarded as loyal in a body to their ruler. Except in their case, consequently, the question of loyalty to the United States must be studied independently of geographical origin and naturalization documents.

It is not alarmist exaggeration to say that, should war come to the United States, the danger from enemies from within will be considerably greater than during the last war—and in the latter period, there was certainly no lack of sabotage committed by agents of the Central Powers. To take a sensational case: during the night of July 30, 1916 (more than eight months before American entry into the war), most of the residents of New York and New Jersey were awakened by the explosion of 2,000,000 pounds of dynamite on Black Tom Island in New York harbor; the detonation was heard as far away as Camden and Philadelphia. Every window in Jersey City was shattered, as were most of those in downtown Manhattan and Brooklyn. Damages were estimated at $14,000,000. That German agents were responsible for this gigantic act of sabotage was the finding of the German Mixed Claims Commission which, in 1939, awarded damages to American plaintiffs.

There were hundreds of other, less spectacular acts of sabotage both before and after Black Tom. Repeatedly, sticks of dynamite, equipped with detonating fuses, were uncovered aboard American cargo-ships carrying war supplies to the Allies. Explosions destroyed parts of the Du Pont powder plants in New Jersey and Delaware, and the Hercules Powder Works and the Atlas Powder Mixing Plant were razed by sabotage. That these acts of destruction were planned and executed by German agents—while this nation was still at peace—was eventually proved by seizure of correspondence between the agents responsible, Dr. Heinrich Albert, commercial attaché of the German Embassy at Washington, and the notorious Captain Karl Boy-Ed, the German naval attaché. British agents found documents lost by the irrepressible Franz von Papen, then military attaché at Washington and Mexico City, disclosing sums paid to enemy agents and the sabotage assignments given to them. The United States Government found evidence proving conclusively that German agents were plotting to blow up the main locks of the Welland Canal, connecting Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, through which munitions were carried from this country to Canada.

MOST of the agents who committed or planned this sabotage acted solely for reasons of the monetary reward. But the situation that may now confront the United States is more serious. For every hired saboteur active here during World War I, there will be at least dozens or scores of voluntary, enthusiastic saboteurs who will act from

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

what they regard as their principles and convictions, and who will be less likely than hired saboteurs to reveal their accomplices, if caught. The estimate has been made by Department of Justice agents that there are between 20,000 and 50,000 determined Nazis and non-German pro-Nazis in America, who are expected to attack the security of the United States. Whatever their actual number may be, it is clear that they belong to all nationalities, that some of them are native Americans who will work either out of sympathy with totalitarian ideals or because inspired by hatred of England.

THERE is no doubt that the FBI is in possession of a fairly accurate list of the most active and fanatic Nazis in this country. Many of them, incredibly enough, have revealed themselves by open display of swastikas, by the wearing of Storm Trooper uniforms (before that was forbidden in some States), and by their attendance at various Nazi camps in the United States. Others belong to organizations —whose names are almost all prefixed by "American"—that ostensibly stage demonstrations of "harmless sports": these take the form of target practice, group instruction in the handling of explosives, night hikes which stage mock guerilla warfare, etc. Lists of such organizations have been published many times since their first enumeration last year in the bulletins of the Committee for Cultural Freedom and in various volumes on the fifth column in America—some of which admittedly are worthless pulp productions. The entire list of such groups would occupy more pages than space permits, but typical among them are such organizations as the American Nationalist Party, the American Nationalist Labor Party, the Deutsche Frontkämpferschaft (German Front Fighters), the Deutsch-Amerikanischer Zentralbund, Deutscher Kulturkampfbund, German-American Civic Association, German-American Citizens Alliance, German-American Protective Alliance, German League of Honor in America, Institute of Germans Living Abroad, Reichskrieger Bund, etc., etc. In addition to these groups, which do not deny their Nazi allegiance, there are various lesser societies which are either openly Nazi or which disguise their allegiance by half-hearted measures. Typical of these groups are the League of Sudeten Germans in America, the Steel Helmets, Friends of New Germany, the One Hundred Percent American Organization, Swastika League of America, the Ludendorff Bund, the Von Mackensen Drill Korps, Loyal Aryan Christians, and so on. Some of these groups serve as a "front" for pro-Nazi associations operating in secret.

There is good reason to believe that the lists and other data of the FBI are now sufficiently complete that leaders in the more dangerous of these groups could be interned before they might execute large-scale sabotage, although it is true that there already have been a number of explosions and fires of decidedly suspicious origin. Other "candidates for internment," as it were, would certainly be found by the FBI among the editors and contributors to various Nazi and Fascist news-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

papers and weeklies in the United States.

The various groups in America of Fascist Italians, whose activities even now are of particular interest to the FBI as well as to State, municipal and county authorities, are organized along much the same lines as the Nazis. There are a large number of pro-Fascist organizations here which only differ in the degree of their militancy—for example, the Circolo Morgantini, Circolo Rossoni (Rossoni, a former IWW leader in the United States, and publisher of a syndicalist weekly in New York, is now a member of Mussolini's cabinet), Dopolavoro Dux, Circolo Arnaldo Mussolini, the Black Shirts, Circolo di Cultura Il Dux, Circolo Nazionale Impero, Lictor Federation, etc. Several radio stations in this country, among them WOV in New York and WMEX and WCOP in Boston, for a considerable time had Fascist broadcasts, and, if war comes, such speakers as Negri, Neri, Capozzucchi, Forno, Garofalo, Cammarota-Cammi, Scotti, Guidi, Giannantonio, Gallucci and a few other will doubtless be silenced by one or another means. (These speakers and their activities were the subject of a study by the American Council on Public Affairs, published last year.)

—*Daily Sketch*, London

UNTIL recently, there was a tendency to regard Italian Fascists in this country as potentially less dangerous than their Nazi equivalents. There are indications that this view, in official quarters, is undergoing a marked change. It is recognized that Fascist agents here may be less experienced in terrorist acts and in sabotage methods than Nazi agents, but certainly recruits in considerable number could be found in the Italian gangster underworld here.

The two large Italian-language dailies in this country, *Il Progresso Italo-Americano* and the *Corriere d'Italia*, with a combined circulation of about 100,000, have supported the aggressive policies of the Axis, although they no longer declare themselves openly Fascist. The publisher, Generoso Pope, a member of Tammany, succeeds in the astonishing feat of supporting Mr. Roosevelt, on one hand, and Mussolini and Hitler on the other. If the United States enters the war, Pope will certainly declare that he is for America first, in the same sense as the America First organization. That metamorphosis was performed during the last war by the *New Yorker Staatszeitung*, which was rabidly pro-German until

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

America entered the war, when overnight it plumped for the Allies.

In the Spanish colony in the United States there is very little allegiance to the régime of the Spanish Fascists, or Falangists. There is a minimum of pro-Franco feeling among Latin Americans in the United States, probably none among the Puerto Ricans, and certainly not much among native-born Spaniards in this country. The few active Falangists can be easily traced by their association or connections with the several Falangist publications in this country, among them the *Cara al Sol.*

Officials who will decide who is to be interned will be compelled, in the event of war, to consider with some seriousness the ranks of those of Irish birth, or descent, who are followers of Father Coughlin. The latter, it will be recalled, vigorously defended those members of the Christian Front in New York City who last year were arrested for theft of firearms stolen from armories. Their leader, a German Nazi, committed suicide before their acquittal.

The question will arise, inevitably, what Americans of native birth might be regarded as dangerous by the Department of Justice in the case of war. Britain has not hesitated to intern those of her nationals who are Fascist-sympathizers, among them Sir Oswald Mosley and his followers. It is to be expected that this Government will adopt the view—as in the last war—that discretion dictates the isolation of some Americans. Leaders of outspoken American Fascist organizations upon whom the eye of the Federal authorities will fall, will certainly include such individuals as Lawrence Denny, the "theoretician of American fascism," Major General Von Horn Moseley, George Deatherage, James True, Dudley Pierrepont Gilbert, George W. Christians, Robert Edmondson, William Dudley Pelley, chief of the Silver Shirts, Joseph E. McWilliams, leader of the Christian Mobilizers, Gerald Winrod, who publishes the *Defender*, and Charles Hudson, who publishes *America in Danger*. There are other "super-patriots" of the same predilection for fascism who issue pamphlets arguing that the President, Mrs. Roosevelt, and most high officials of the Federal Government are all fifth columnists, and kindred fictions. While some of their members are well-meaning people who are not fully aware of the objectives they support, the rank and file of such organizations as the America First Committee, Keep America Out of War Committee, and particularly the Communist-controlled American Peace Mobilization Committee and the Yanks Are Not Coming Committee will be scrutinized by Federal investigators.

THERE are other elements which, although now professing violent opposition to the Nazi and Fascist régimes, might prove even more of a menace to the nation's war effort than many more outspoken opponents of this Government. These are the Communists, the third totalitarian group. They are, of course, opposed to all aid to the democracies at war, and in their propaganda they demand the stoppage of all American aid to the belligerents,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which at present means Britain. If we go to war, the Communists' propaganda will doubtless be suppressed, as it now has been in England. Moreover, the FBI is well aware that many Communists are active in C.I.O. unions whose members are at work on defense contracts, and that some of these Communists may be expected to obey implicitly Moscow orders to hamper this work. Representative Martin Dies, whose record for accuracy is not impeccable, recently estimated that about 8,000 Nazis are employed in direct or subsidiary war industries in the Middle West. It is recognized at Washington that while Communist workers belonging to the C.I.O. might not commit sabotage more serious than intermittent sit-down strikes, the Nazi workers (most of whom are naturalized citizens) would not shrink from direct acts of destruction. There is reason to believe that the FBI knows where every one of these Nazi workers is employed and where he (or she) resides.

The United States has experienced one world war, and there is at least surface evidence that a few lessons have been learned. If the country declares war, past history has shown what measures may be adopted against indiscriminate anti-alien hysteria. Even in the World War, the Government was able to distinguish not only between friends and enemies at home, but also between dangerous and harmless nationals of enemy countries. Perhaps too much credence at that time was given by the Secret Service to the tens of thousands of anonymous or signed denunciations from private citizens of individuals suspected of espionage. Spy-hunts became a national pastime, and too often were undertaken by private citizens only for purposes of venting their personal animosity. A letter written recently by Attorney General John J. Bennett of New York to Governor Herbert Lehman suggests that, if war comes, better judgment may be exercised than was the case almost a quarter century ago:

"We have many letters listing, as subversive groups, every German society and business organization in the State. Others complain that American-born sons of naturalized Germans are permitted to serve in the armed forces of the United States. Many are patently spurious and were designed clearly to impress us with the knowledge and the detective skill of the writers.

"The hysteria that was generated during the last war with its injustice and its injuries to American methods is still vivid in our memories. It should not be permitted to spring up again."

And Switzerland Next . . .

In this revolution, the greatest in modern history, does Switzerland consider herself an island whose inhabitants can continue to watch calmly what is happening in the turbulent seas by which they are surrounded?

—*Völkischer Beobachter*, Munich

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Nazis' God is Germany, and the Führer is the Christ of the State

Ersatz Religion in the Reich

By STANLEY HIGH

AWARE that man is incurably a believing animal and cynically convinced that his need to believe can be perverted to their own uses, the Nazis have set up a new religion in Germany whose *ersatz* god sanctifies Nazi ambitions and justifies Nazi blood lust.

Its God is Germany. Hitler is its Christ. Its Bible is *Mein Kampf*, and its church the Nazi state. This is not rhetoric. I am being literal.

To implement this purposeful prostitution of the religious instinct, the Nazis have furnished it with liturgies of worship, sacraments of confirmation and marriage, "solemn ceremonials" of christening and burial. The Nazis have established synthetic saints, appointed days for their veneration and set up "holy places" for pilgrims to visit.

The whole power of the party is behind the effort to uproot Christianity and substitute for it an emotional, heathen tribalism. Instruction in the faith is part of all teachers' training courses, and its literature is required reading in the schools. Party leaders are regularly examined in its doctrines.

In one year, 60,000 of them were picked and trained to teach it. Regular radio time is set aside for these teachers. The party-sponsored hymn-book of the faith has sold more than 1,000,000 copies. All party publications, including the daily press, are required to propagate the faith, and so are the movies.

This Nazi religion is no recent creation. Its vague outlines began to appear before Hitler came to power. It was, indeed, a necessity to the party and therefore inevitable.

Nazism can brook no competition and allow no divided loyalties. The Christian God was not exclusively German. He was supra-national. Thus the loyalties of millions of German Chris-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tians were not exclusively Nazi; they bowed to One who was above and beyond party. Christianity therefore had to be destroyed and a new faith substituted.

But you cannot kill something with nothing; there had to be a substitute faith to satisfy the human need to believe.

It was essential, too, that nazism be made a religion, because only by the unscrupulous abuse of the religious impulses of the German people, and particularly of German youth, could Hitler arouse that blind, frenzied, blood-letting devotion which, for adventures so ruthless as his, were indispensable.

The first article of the Nazi religion makes the state the Supreme God. God and Germany are one. Baldur von Schirach, leader of the German Youth, describes it as "the Divine Law that is called Germany." To get an all-out devotion which merely human leaders could not expect to win, Hitler has been deified.

SPEAKING on one notable occasion, Hitler defined his relationship to the party leaders with a paraphrase of Jesus' language to His disciples: "I am with you and you are with me." To Nazi officeholders, said Dr. Robert Ley, head of the German Labor Front, those words mean that "every official has to live his life according to the Führer's precepts and ask himself before every action: 'Would Adolf Hitler approve of this?' "

The text is interpreted for the German Youth by Baldur von Schirach in a Hymn to Hitler:

In serried ranks ye follow me,
And ye are I and I am ye;

I've never lived a single thought
That in your hearts was not first wrought.

The forming words I know of none,
That is not with your wills at one.

For ye are I and I am ye,
And all our faith is Germany.

"The German Faith Movement," says one of its spokesmen, "acknowledges only one Lord, Adolf Hitler." Ernst Hauck, a German educator, declares at a Coburg mass meeting that "Christ was great but Hitler is greater." Frequently, Hitler is spoken of as "Our Redeemer."

The famous Christian hymn, "Christ, Thou Lord of the New Age," has been changed for party gatherings to "Hitler, Thou Lord of the New Age." At the Feldherrenhalle in Munich, nazism's most sacred shrine, the mealtime ceremony of the Guard of Honor is described in Hitler's own newspaper as follows: "The *Sturmbannführer* pronounces the word *'Der Führer'* and all answer in solemn and subdued tones *'Der Führer.'* This word expresses everything to them."

Official portraits of the Führer show his head bathed in a mystic light. These photographs are frequently used in party shrines. Underneath such icons, prayers to Hitler are inscribed —of which this is a good sample:

To Thee, O my leader, belongs everything I possess
Our goods and our lives.
Our hearts and our souls.

In many government orphanages a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prayer to Hitler is required of the children before every meal:

Führer, my Führer, on me by God bestowed,
My life in times to come, protect and hold;
Out of deepest distress thou hast Germany led,
To thee I owe, alone, my daily bread:
Abandon thou me never, with me for e'er abide
Führer, my Führer, my Faith and my Light.

And after the meal:

For this food, my Führer, my thanks I render,
Protector of age and of childhood tender.

To find out how well the drive to make Hitler divine was catching on, the *Schwarze Korps*, official organ of the Nazi Storm Troopers, called on its readers for testimonies on "what Adolf Hitler means to me." The replies with which it was flooded were amazing proof of the extent of this religious perversion—and, to the Nazi hierarchy, *bona fide* evidence that anything, good or evil, undertaken in Hitler's name could be cloaked with holiness.

"Adolf Hitler," wrote the father of seven children, "is my faith, my support and my hope; to my children, the visible personal expression of what in our youth was represented as God." "I have never felt the Divine power of God as near," wrote a mother, "as in the greatness of our Führer." A one-time Catholic compared the spiritual experience of looking at Hitler to that of his first Communion, save that Hitler was declared to be more satisfying. Every glance at the picture of "Hitler, my creator," said a Munich reader, "releases in me the feelings that devout people allege they experience in prayer."

Since the Nazi needs are physical, the new morality is physical. The only good it preaches is "more and better bodies." The practice of this doctrine is what the Nazis mean by the "biological revolution." In the upper reaches of the party, this body worship has been given a mystical turn and identified with what is called "the religion of the blood."

THE "biological revolution" helps to explain the relentless Nazi persecution of the Christian Church. For its doctrines run violently counter to the Christian teachings of the sanctity of the home and of marriage; of the importance of the human soul even though in an imperfect body; of premarital chastity.

The new morality aims to uproot and entirely destroy the Christian and civilized standards of sexual morality and marriage. This is because those standards are a restraint upon the sexual and, therefore, reproductive inclinations of the young German. A new marriage law was, accordingly, decreed in 1938. As officially interpreted, this law excludes all Christian or religious views about matrimony and makes the married life dependent on the vital laws of the nation, the race, the community. Matrimony is no more regarded as a divine institution, but as the germ cell of the state. Thus, sexual intercourse between married people is not "an intimately personal

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and vital relationship essentially based on the consent of husband and wife, but a public act."

The aim of marriage is the same as that of any other war industry: production of war material. This objective is not left to inference. This interpretation of the new marriage law frankly declares that the object of matrimony is the procreation of children for the state. Whenever this end is not achieved such a marriage is evil and is dissolved, whereas the only moral compulsion laid on German women is that they produce. With the nation at war, its able-bodied men mobilized, many of them destined to be killed, this pressure has of late been greatly increased.

Feliks Topolski in *Picture Post*, London

In an appeal early last year, the *Schwarze Korps*, declared that "the number of births of best blood must not be allowed in this war to sink below normal peacetime figures. A girl who here dodges her highest duty, in one way or another, is exactly as great a traitor as the soldier who deserts his flag. S.S. men! Show that you are ready not only to give your lives for your country, but to give her far more lives before you die."

Heinrich Himmler, chief of the S.S. and of the Gestapo, declares that there is a wartime duty for German girls "of pure blood" which "lies beyond marriage and has nothing to do with it. This is to become mothers of children by soldiers who leave for the front." Moved by these appeals young, unmarried Germans advertise their availability in the press. Here are two such advertisements which appeared in the *Sueddeutsche Sonntagspost* last May:

"I am a soldier, 22 years old, tall, blond, blue-eyed. Before I go to give my life for Führer and Fatherland I want to meet a German woman to whom I can leave a child and heir for the glory of Germany."

The second read: "A German girl wishes to become mother of a child whose father is a German soldier fighting for National-Socialism."

No normal, civilized compunctions are allowed to interfere with this breeding program. The *Schwarze Korps* urges that "artificial insemination should be called into play in marriages where, with a healthy mother, no children have been produced. If other methods fail, helpers and educators must be called in—someone of high caliber of health and character, if possible, a brother of the husband.

Special guardians are provided by the state for children born out of wedlock. Soldiers "who are able to substantiate their claims" as unmarried

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fathers are promised special post-war bonuses. Meanwhile, the unmarried mothers are looked after at the state's expense.

Thus the new faith and its morality effectively prostitute religion to the service of the party. The elaborate means by which the faith is spread and practiced are designed to serve the same purpose. Almost every act and symbol which has significance for the Christian has been taken over and perverted.

"To celebrate festivals," says an official "creed" of the new faith, "we need no priestly caste . . . the Storm Troop leader or the Black Shirt can hold these celebrations more beautifully and naturally than any paid agent of an alien religion." For these occasions, the Blackshirts or the S.S. men go through elaborate pagan rituals with songs, drums, torches and great fires.

The Christian sacrament of baptism —since it is of non-German origin and may lead to un-German thoughts —is denounced and replaced with "a solemn conferring of the Name." Lest Germanism be confused with Christianity, the Minister of the Interior warns German parents that names taken from the Bible, of saints, angels, apostles, Christian martyrs, will no longer be accepted by the state. Among those banned because of their non-Nazi connotation are Anna, Elizabeth, Eve, Jacob, John, Joachim, Mary, Michael, George and Paul.

To take the place of the religious service of confirmation—which is decried because it fails to arouse purely German feelings—the Nazis usher their young people into adulthood by "consecrations of youth," in which only Germany is worshipped and only Hitler adored. The Christian marriage ceremony, with its references to another God than Germany, is similarly frowned on by good party members. They prefer the official "German Marriage."

FOR fear that, in the presence of death, party members may find some of their pre-pagan loyalties reviving, the party has decreed that Nazis cannot attend funeral services while any members of the Christian clergy are present.

Christmas Day, solemnly affirm the Nazi researchers, did not originate with Christ at all. It originated with Wotan—a 100-per-cent German god and one of the first and greatest Nazis, albeit a myth. So for the Nazi Christmas, neo-pagan hymns are offered, sung to familiar Christmas tunes.

Good Friday is dedicated to Baldur —another one of nazism's mythological forbears. "The field-gray soldier," says a Nazi educator, "who throws his last hand grenade; the dying seaman who pronounces the Führer's name as his last word, these are, for us, divine figures much more than the crucified Jew."

Easter is similarly paganized. The Nazi ceremonial of that day is the "Feast of Fire," a shrewd solemnizing of the "resurrection" of Germany. For these occasions official liturgies are published by the party press. Many of them end with this paraphrase of the Apostles' Creed:

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> I believe in the land of all the Germans, in a life of service to this land. I believe in the revelation of the divine creative power in the pure blood shed in war and peace by the sons of the German national community, buried in the soil thereby sanctified, risen and living in all for whom it was immolated. I believe in an eternal life on earth of this blood, that was poured out, rose again in all who have recognized the meaning of the sacrifices and are ready to submit to them. Thus I believe in an eternal God, an eternal Germany and an eternal life.

To provide adequate physical setting for the new religion, the Christian churches eventually will be taken over and all Christian symbols removed. Pending that bit of banditry, the Nazis have built many shrines of their own. "*Dingstatt*" ("Thing Places") they are called. Recently, a movement was initiated to displace the wayside crucifixes of the Catholic areas of Germany. There is nothing in them, said a party magazine, that "reminds us of the fact that Germany has become a National-Socialist state." Instead of crucifixes, which have no Nazi meaning, "Eagle Trees" were proposed to symbolize Germany's resurrection and life.

There is no way of knowing how widely Germany, outside strictly party circles, has been swept into this neo-paganism and bowed down to its Baals. There was, in millions of pre-Hitler Germans, a deepseated respectability, a regard for the decencies and a solid faith which cannot have been wholly uprooted. But the Nazis count upon the day when the younger generation, knowing no other gods and practicing no other morality, will have grown to maturity. It is that, doubtless, which Hitler has in mind when he grandiosely boasts that the new faith "is destined to last a thousand years." But for all the ingenuity with which the faith is promoted, his prophecy may turn out to have been an exaggeration. Long before Hitler's millenium has run its course, it is probable that the German people, young and old, will discover what has been robbed from them and rise up and restore to His shrines that God to whom "a thousand years are but as yesterday when it is past and as a watch in the night."

As Seen by Wickham Steed

> To the Germans a word of command seems to imply the possession of authority and the strength to enforce compliance with it. Their first instinct is to obey, not criticize or offer resistance. We should treat them as pariahs of the human race, and should make them understand that there can be no escape for them from dire discredit until they have repudiated their present leaders, the Nazi system and all the misdeeds done in their name. . . . They should be told that the treatment they will receive must depend in large measure upon their own behavior before the war ends.
>
> —Wickham Steed in *The Fifth Arm*, cited by *Free Europe*, London

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Talk Under Bombs

By ARNOLD PALMER

Britain Today (British Library of Information), New York

LISTS of entertainments or, as they are sometimes called, *Amusement Guides* are features of the newspapers of all great cities. Here is a summary of the attractions advertised in a London daily of mid-December 1940, with summaries of the same columns in the same paper for the same day in the two preceding years. Then as now, of course, allowance must be made for many small concerns, open but unadvertised:

	1940	*1939*	*1938*
Theaters (Drama, ballet, opera, vaudeville—matinees only)	5	42	50
Cinemas	20	40	57
Dinner-dances and Cabarets ..	10	21	20
Night Clubs	9	8	2
Concerts	2	2	3
Art Exhibitions	3	10	15

Even before the bombs of 1940, the blackout of 1939 had seriously damaged the entertainment business in London. (The statistics for night clubs are deceptive. These establishments are far less numerous than of old, yet, in spite of decreased competition, the survivors have to advertise to get members.) But let us ignore causes and consider effects. They are worth consideration. It is something new for this generation to be home by, and stay home from, 5.45 or 6 in the evening.

For that is what they do. The patrons of the dinner-dances and the night clubs are a tiny minority composed of a few members of the smart set who find it impossible to change their habits; of young men and women on leave from the Services; and of various people who cannot resist, once in a while, defying their own curfew and breaking the routine of basement or shelter.

The rest, the huge majority, have accepted and adapted themselves to this strict routine. It has been described often enough without, perhaps, sufficient emphasis being laid upon the strictness. Invitations, once so common, to dine at the houses of friends are now very rare, and even rarer than their arrival is their acceptance. One goes (if one goes) on the understanding that (if advisable) one sleeps and breakfasts where one dines. As will be seen, the whole affair—full of doubts, misgivings and toothbrushes—demands and receives careful thought; and in the end one merely hears the war from a new basement, whereas the dancers turn a deafened ear to it—the dance bands see to that!

London's millions spend their nights under great stores, in Tube stations, or their own homes. The first two classes lead, possibly, the more exciting lives. They are members of a new community made up of the other regular patrons of their shelter, their plat-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

form, or their tunnel; and their homes, during the brief visits morning and evening, are romantic with forgotten comforts and delights. The case of those people who stay in or beneath their own houses may be less dramatic but is hardly less novel. When entire families spend night after night in their hall or cellar, the decay of home life may surely be said to have been arrested even if the filling in the cavity is only temporary. There they are, the young people and the old people, together, from just before six o'clock onwards. A meal will occupy perhaps half an hour, and another half-hour may be passed in listening to the news bulletins at 6 and 9. (The radio should be a welcome and important feature of the evening. But enemy action and precautions against enemy action are not conducive to good reception.)

Then, how are the members of our family to pass the three or four hours remaining until the moment when they fall into their settled mosaic, disposing themselves for slumber? No slipping off to the pub, the club or the party. No evening out with the boy friend or the girl. No escape to one's own room, to the peace of "upstairs." Nothing but a little reading, some letter writing, a game of cards or chess, and talk.

If family life has been forcibly restored, so (the two are not wont to go together) has conversation. "The lost art of conversation" it had come to be called, and one cannot yet say, however much one would like to do so, that it has been completely rediscovered. But give it time, give us time to practice. The conditions for a revival are not unfavorable.

WHAT do men and women talk about in peaceful countries? What did we discuss in the old days? Business, books, theaters, music, sport, art, politics and mutual friends. But not one of these topics is fully reliable. How often, and how drearily, one dined beside a man or a woman who was not interested in one's business, did not know one's friends, or share one's taste in books, music, plays, films or paintings! All that is changed. Whether we sit knee to knee with our own flesh and blood, or recline shoulder to shoulder with a perfect stranger in the bowels of the Underground, we all have one theme in common and—can happiness go further?—it is everybody's threadbare favorite. Bombs.

The bomb that hit, or nearly hit, the office. The other bomb that hit, or nearly hit, the house. Friends who have been bombed. Remarkable escapes from bombing. Capricious behavior of bombs. Effect of bombing on (*a*) health, (*b*) traffic, and (*c*) industry. Objective of bombs. Means of countering the bomber. Skill or lack of skill of German bombers. Skill of British bombers. Methods of dealing with bombs. Bomb disposal squads. Sizes and types of bombs. Craters made by bombs. Recent evidences of bombing. Personal and parish bomb-rivalry.

Admittedly, a visitor from abroad might detect a certain sameness in our conversations. Even we are conscious of it at times, and then we describe one another as "bomb bores." But when this point is reached, conversa-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion may still go on. The ice has been broken, tongues stiff with disuse have loosened, and we pass—not very brilliantly, perhaps, yet with no sensation of strain—to other subjects, such as cheese, marmalade and silk stockings. Do we appear ridiculous? In truth, we often seem so to ourselves; but we can discover no way of escaping from the law that makes men and women talk of what interests them. We would much—oh, how much!—rather discuss Menuhin, Garbo, Picasso, Alice Marble, Gide, Ascot, or plans for the summer, but the sad fact is that an effort, faint yet perceptible, is needed to recall the names of these delights. We loathe discussing stockings, cheese and marmalade, but we are in no danger of forgetting them. Shameful as the confession is, they interest us.

"Interest?" you may ask, raising your eyebrows. "Isn't that rather an understatement?" Not in this context. You will have seen pictures of the destruction wrought by bombs, you will have imagined for yourselves their less visible effects on men and women. But what you may not have fully considered is their power to change the habits of ordinary citizens. Never before have scores of millions of civilians had to change, all at once, the ways of life consecrated by them and the generations before them. Trains, motor-cars, telephone, radio—they seemed to revolutionize existence. They are seen now in their true perspective; developments, they take their place beside short skirts for women and soft collars for men. The arrival of these, however resounding, their effect, however great, were comparatively gradual. City dwellers are now confronted with changes extremely sudden; tremendous in their immediate impact, utterly insignificant in any apparent social or spiritual potentiality, springing from and leading to nothing, disconnected. Not since the days of the Great Plague, nearly 300 years ago, can the balance of English life have been so violently disturbed.

THERE is not the slightest doubt that, as a consequence, every Londoner is now talking with far less restraint, with far more animation, and to many more people than ever before in his adult life. Whether, after the stimulus of high explosive is removed, he will keep and foster his new accomplishment, whether he will continue when peace comes to be eager to express his views on all subjects and occasions, whether he will then say, or now says, anything worth hearing—these are matters beyond the scope of this brief commentary. For the time being he is a great talker. He is not yet a great listener—except to the bombs which set him talking.

What Every Bride Should Know

The Japan-Manchoukuo Women's Association has recently decided to establish institutions . . . to train women who are seeking marriage on the Continent. Besides pistol and rifle shooting, they will be given lessons in the rearing of infants.

—*Japan Weekly Chronicle*, Kobe

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In Latin America

A New Order in the New World

THE LAST six weeks have disclosed, more sharply than ever before, that a "new order" is actually being established in the Western Hemisphere. Contrary to the "new order" of which the Axis boasts, and which means the total economic and political subjugation of other populations on the Continent of Europe, the New Order in the Western Hemisphere may be defined, without wishful exaggeration, as the sincere and friendly co-operation of all the Latin-American nations with the United States; it is a co-operation, moreover, that has been entered into voluntarily, and with an abundance of mutual understanding and common sense that would have seemed incredible and utopian as recently as two years ago.

Forgotten are the old grievances—and they were many in number and often wholly justified. The old anti-Washington slogans—"Yankee Imperialism" and the "Colossus of the North," to cite only two—are no longer the basis of Latin-American propaganda inimical to the United States. The reason for this metamorphosis lies, of course, in the danger to Latin America that threatens today from Europe and from Asia; to the Latin-American mind, the United States is a lesser menace, if it is one at all. Below the Rio Grande, at last, it is recognized that the United States has other "designs" than to swallow the twenty republics to the south, one by one. To put it another way, the new spirit of voluntary co-operation, so far as Latin America is concerned, differs considerably from "Monroe Doctrinism," which in the past implied those relations existing between a major power and its weak and intimidated neighbors. The psychological climate today might be called an atmosphere of mutual help among equals of varying size.

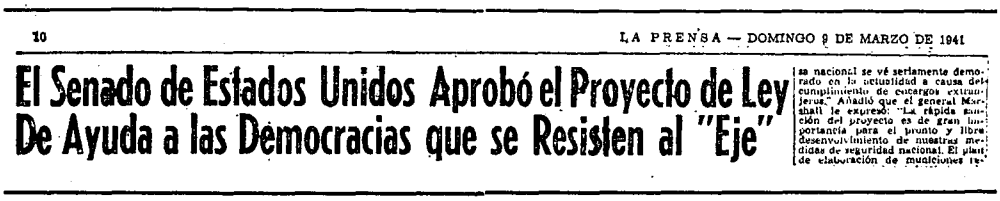
It should be noted that this transition from the platonism of the "Good Neighbor" policy, which until recently found expression solely in diplomatic verbiage, to an era of actual deeds has occurred during the period that the Nazi blitzkrieg increased in intensity. In this period of common danger to all the nations of the Western Hemisphere, Latin America has put aside her cherished recriminations against the United States. Even among themselves, Latin Americans have called off their interminable boundary disputes. Illustrative of this spirit of unity during a continental crisis was the signature (April 5) of a treaty between Venezuela and Colombia, apparently settling the last of the frontier and navigation disputes between the various states of Central and South America. On the other hand, and despite the crisis with which they are confronted, members of the Axis con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tinue their territorial quarrels—for example, the claims of Hungary against Rumania, of Rumania against Bulgaria, etc., etc.

Illustrative also was the removal (March 24) of one of the chief grievances of Argentina, the most important Spanish-speaking nation in Latin America, against the United States, which now has lifted the ban against our purchase of Argentine beef.

To be more specific, there are three principal reasons for the reversal of Latin America's attitude toward the United States and for the new spirit of Hemisphere solidarity. They are:



10 LA PRENSA — DOMINGO 9 DE MARZO DE 1941

El Senado de Estados Unidos Aprobó el Proyecto de Ley De Ayuda a las Democracias que se Resisten al "Eje"

se nacional se vé seriamente demorado en la actualidad a causa del cumplimiento de encargos extranjeros." Añadió que el general Marshall le expresó: "La rápida sanción del proyecto es de gran importancia para el pronto y libre desenvolvimiento de nuestras medidas de seguridad nacional. El plan de elaboración de municiones re-

1. Despite the avalanche of Nazi propaganda in Latin America, the activities of German-subsidized news agencies and in some republics of a good deal of pro-Fascist censorship, the Nazis' treatment of conquered populations has not been kept a deep secret. Nor have Latin Americans been blind to the truth that even those conquered nations, in Europe, that had pro-Fascist régimes have not fared better than the democratic nations that fell in the blitzkrieg.

2. Latin America's fears of the Fascist powers, particularly of Italy, in good part evaporated when, in the face of Mussolini's boasts, his invincible legions were defeated by the Greeks and Albanians, and put to rout by the British in Africa.

3. Impressive to the Latin-American mind has been the uncompromising and energetic attitude of the United States in support of nations attacked by the Axis.

Contributing to the recognition by Latin America of its danger, and of the imperative necessity for a "new order in the New World," was the exposure a few months ago of Nazi conspiracies to annex Uruguay, Patagonia, a part of northern Argentina, and of southern Brazil. But active resistance did not become evident until a few weeks ago. Acts of defense followed in quick succession once the United States made the first move (March 30). That move was the seizure in American waters of sixty-nine ships belonging to the Axis Nations and to Denmark.

It may be pointed out that, until quite recently, the Italian Minister at Lima, Commendatore Italo Capanni, exercised such influence that he was sometimes referred to as the uncrowned king of Peru. Italians, for example, controlled the entire banking system of that republic. Almost all the air lines in Peru (as well as in Brazil, Bolivia and Colombia) were owned and operated by Germans, with the result that their pilots knew the terrain far more intimately than did native fliers.

All that is now past.

On April 1, the Lima Government ordered the military occupation of all

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

German-held air bases, including the Tambo airport in the capital, and Peruvian troops also seized all the Junker planes, hangars, workshops and other property of the Lufthansa. On the same date, Axis ships in Peruvian harbors were seized by the authorities, and their crews placed under arrest. For good measure, the Peruvian attorney general ordered the attachment of the bank deposits of the North German Lloyd and of the Kosmos companies, which operated the several Nazi ships that had succeeded in escaping port without clearance papers. As a final humiliation, the Peruvian authorities expelled the Trans-Ocean news agency, the Nazi-controlled press association which had supplied news free of charge to newspapers in that country, on grounds that its activities might "disturb the good international relations of Peru . . . and affect our democratic institutions." It is interesting to observe that Peru, whose government has long been one of the most dictatorial in South America, a few weeks ago discovered its democratic convictions—almost overnight.

To some degree, the same reversal may be noted in Chile where the Conservatives have vigorously opposed the pro-Ally Popular Front Government. But the Conservative *Diario Ilustrado*, in an editorial (March 19) following the President's broadcast address before the White House correspondents (March 15), asserted that "all of Latin-American opinion has been united by Mr. Roosevelt's foreign policy, and his speech has served to reawaken the Pan-American spirit along new lines of collaboration in face of the common peril." The overtones and implications of the speech, this opposition newspaper added, "inaugurate a new period."

THIS "new period" was also recognized in Argentina. The largest Latin-American circulation among full-size newspapers is *La Prensa's* of Buenos Aires. As a rule it is pointedly "reserved" in its attitude toward the United States, but on April 4 it gave prominence to an article urging another Pan-American conference to discuss Hemispheric military and other measures in view of the common danger. Emphasizing the capacity of the United States to furnish ships, aircraft, tanks and artillery, the writer in *La Prensa* added:

"We should have this valuable war material at our disposal. We should know the place that is reserved for us in the eventual conflict. We should accept the effective collaboration of the 'arsenal of the democracies' by establishing adequate bases on our coasts."

Here it should be noted that the initiative for military co-operation in the Americas, as well as for a wider establishment of naval bases, comes not from the United States but from a conservative Argentine organ that was once antagonistic in the extreme toward Washington.

In Uruguay (March 17), a virtual *coup-d'etat* struck a strong blow in support of a democratic régime. Under the constitution of that republic, the President is compelled to allot three cabinet posts to the defeated minority party. That party, in this instance, was the Herreristas, who represented a last ditch opposition to any

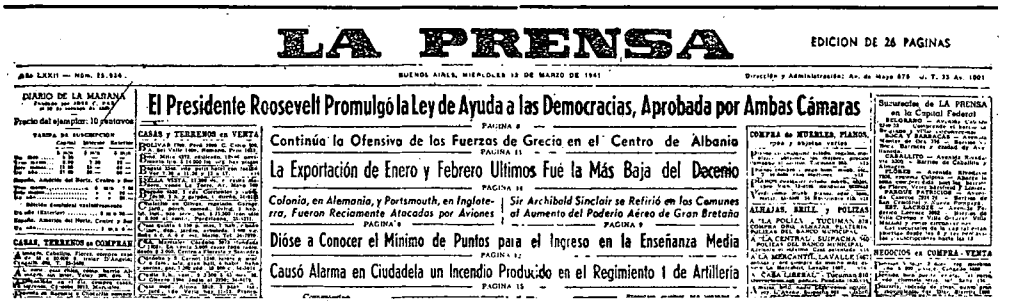
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

co-operation with the United States and who strongly supported the Axis. As members of the Government, this pro-Axis trio was able for a time to sabotage any Pan-American defense measures. To end this "bottleneck," General Alfredo Baldomir, the President, kicked the three men out of the cabinet —constitution or no constitution.

Once the United States seized the Axis cargo ships in American harbors, nations to the south followed suit. German and Italian cargo vessels were seized in Uruguay, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Cuba and in several nations of Central America. Where crews succeeded in burning or scuttling the ships, the various Latin-American authorities arrested and interned them. In Venezuela, bitterness against the Axis reached such a point (April 1) that a mob put the torch to the German Gambrinus Hotel, and several German and Italian nationals were injured.

Even tiny Costa Rica rejected the demands (April 1) of the German chargé-d'affaires, Felix Tripeloury, that "special treatment" be accorded the crews of the German freighter *Eisenach* and the Italian liner *Fella*, which had been set afire. The officers and crew members, a total of 120 men, were held incommunicado at the San José penitentiary. And among other small states, Panama announced early in April that any part of its territory was available to the United States for purposes of Hemisphere defense, despite the fact that its President, Arnulfo Arias, is an outspoken pro-Fascist.

But perhaps the most significant change in sentiment was to be noted last month in Mexico. Once the American Government gave the cue, Mexico promptly seized twelve German and Italian ships and expropriated them for its own Navy, on grounds that this was merely compensation for damage to Mexican economy caused by Axis activities. (The Government claimed that it had some $8,000,000 due from Germany and Italy.) In addition, the Mexican Senate ratified an agreement with the United States per-



LA PRENSA

EDICION DE 26 PAGINAS

El Presidente Roosevelt Promulgó la Ley de Ayuda a las Democracias, Aprobada por Ambas Cámaras

Continúa la Ofensiva de las Fuerzas de Grecia en el Centro de Albania

La Exportación de Enero y Febrero Ultimos Fué la Más Baja del Decenio

Colonia, en Alemania, y Portsmouth, en Inglaterra, Fueron Recientemente Atacadas por Aviones

Sir Archibald Sinclair se Refirió en los Comunes al Aumento del Poderío Aéreo de Gran Bretaña

Dióse a Conocer el Mínimo de Puntos para el Ingreso en la Enseñanza Media

Causó Alarma en Ciudadela un Incendio Producido en el Regimiento 1 de Artillería

mitting unrestricted transit of airplanes across Mexico's borders and for reciprocal use of airfields. This means, obviously, that in times of emergency the United States can use Mexican territory as a base of air operaitons.

The simple truth of the present situation is that the "new order" of the Nazis, in process of being imposed throughout Europe, has contributed enormously to the forging of a "new order in the New World," based upon equality, independence and reciprocity.

—S. N.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Twenty-five Years Ago

World events as interpreted in The Living Age, *May 1916*

ACCORDING to the London *Spectator*, as quoted in *The Living Age* twenty-five years ago, the British were "war-worn, war-weary if you like, but stubborn and dogged almost beyond belief. . . . To speak generally, men and peoples are subdued by the gradual growth in their minds of a feeling of hopelessness, of an overwhelming, over-mastering fate. There are signs, small just now but still unmistakable, that the Germans, an emotional, impressionable and essentially metaphysically minded people, are beginning to be daunted." The title of the article was " 'Stubbornness, Stubbornness, and Again Stubbornness.' "

As to France, the "Military Correspondent" of the London *Times* wrote: "Of all the truly wonderful things of this wonderful war, assuredly the *morale* of the French Army is the most wonderful of all. Think of it! Twenty months of devastating war . . . that inestimable and most precious treasure, the *morale* of the Army, wholly untarnished and unsubdued. . . . 'Rather than accept slavery at German hands,' said General de Castenau to the writer, 'the French race will die upon the battlefield'."

Henry James had recently died, and Filson Young eulogized him in *The English Review* for "his valor and sufferings for and with England in this hour, as a national hero. . . . In the little world of art, Henry James was a great man." "The Young Poets" were also creating a stir in the London *Times*, which disapproved of D. H. Lawrence's "Cruelty and Love": "The Woman in that poem is morbid, and her morbidity seems to be exaggerated by the poet so that he may do something new in poetry. The worst of such novelties is that they so soon seem old." Of Lawrence's prose, "R. F." wrote in *The Athenaeum:* "He evidently thinks he has a 'mission' [in *The Rainbow*], a new message to humanity; but there is little more in it than a wish to be unduly outspoken about the animal side of human nature, and the result is a flood of information which most people of mature age already possess but have no desire to see paraded." The United States was less disturbed by new currents in literature and *The Living Age's* own "Books and Authors" reviewed Gertrude Atherton's *Mrs. Balfane* who was "one of that large class persuaded by the possession of ample means and membership in a club ambitious of intellectual distinction that she has literary ability." Mrs. Balfane murdered her husband and, "Mrs. Atherton, hav-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing long experience to guide her, so manages her story that her readers are as agitated and as horrified as her characters," and the book was already in its fourth edition. Ernest Newman, pondering on "The Survival Value of a Critic" in *The New Witness*, concluded that, "A conscientious critic would like to return to the field of his earthly labors a century after his death and see how many of his judgments had survived, how many of his prophecies had been fulfilled. He might return; but if he were a sensitive soul I do not think he would stay very long."

Blackwood's Magazine was irritated at "the selfish policy of President Wilson" in protesting against the British blockade and reminded him of the Manchester operatives who sent a message of sympathy to Abraham Lincoln even while they were being ruined by the Civil War blockade of the North. "There is neither sublimity nor heroism in Mr. Wilson's contention that America, in defiance of our blockade, shall be permitted to pour out through neutral ports whatever supplies our enemies may demand. We today stand where Abraham Lincoln stood in 1863; we ask of the United States a tithe of the sacrifice which we gladly faced when they were in the throes of civil war; and we ask it in vain."

"W. W.," in *The New Statesman*, reported that "you cannot understand America unless you have mastered the nature and manifold forms of Uplift. It is ubiquitous. You cannot escape it. . . . Witness, for example, the most widely renowned (in America) of all the victims of the *Lusitainia*—Elbert Hubbard, the perfect master, alike in lay sermon, advertisement and epigram of Uplift for the average man. . . . Turn to the weekly and monthly magazines. . . . It is not only that American stories are ingenuous, full of nice people and provided with the happiest endings. The Uplift is positive and systematically worked in."

—*And Fifty Years Ago (May 1891)*

THE *Living Age* published an article on "Statesmen of Europe" from *The Leisure Hour*: "The political history of France during the past decade seems to superficial foreign observers as a constant change and shuffle of ministers and ministries without stability or influence apparently bearing out the popular prejudice that the French are a restless and volatile nation. . . . Each of the governments overthrown during the last century has still its partisans and is still represented in the French Chamber. Thus we find there Legitimists, Orleanists, Bonapartists, all of whom alike would desire to overthrow the republic, though not one party is agreed as to what they would put in its place."

In *The Fortnightly Review*, the Earl of Meath wrote: "British or American, Canadian or Australian, let us labor shoulder to shoulder to be in the van of the world's progress. The political union of the English-speaking races may be an impossibility, imperial federation may be a dream, but the future supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon race will *not* be a dream, if only the members of this widespread family be true to high ideals of life, to themselves and to each other."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books Abroad

Second Thoughts of a Strategist

The Current of War. *By Liddell Hart. London: Hutchinson. 1941.*

(*Times Literary Supplement*, London)

FOR the second time since the outbreak of hostilities Captain Liddell Hart looks at the war against the background of earlier writings which he is at pains to justify or explain in the light of later events. It is a little curious, this constant harking back, in a military critic of international repute whose stage for so long was the next great war, as though, now that it has come, there were nothing left for the prophet but uneasy memories. Apart from a running commentary of author's corrections, as it were—often enough they are elusive—the book consists entirely of essays, press articles and confidential memoranda spread over a period of twenty years. Even in this explanatory form they will do nothing to resolve the controversy that has always played on the Liddell Hart doctrine, and on several counts, it may be suspected, they can only embarrass its supporters. An objective interpretation of the war by the lights of that doctrine might have been more instructive: the treatment of this work is the other way round—what really happened is in the footnotes.

Still, right or wrong, Captain Liddell Hart is always a challenging writer with a flair for quickening the intelligence, if not sometimes the anger, of his readers. Many of his contentions are more suitably addressed to the dispassionate student of war than to the hot-blooded patriot, who, feeling himself engaged in a life-and-death struggle, is unlikely to give heed to the author's insistence that a military victory is out of the question, or that in trying to destroy Hitlerism, European civilization itself might be destroyed without repair. His approach to developments as a commentator is in the exercise of what he calls "philosophical geometry"—that is, the projection of the past through the present to the future—a method that is content to ignore the human element, or what General Wavell has called the "flesh and blood" of strategy, and in its presentation often borders on casuistry. Sometimes the reader, after chasing red herrings all over the place, is left wondering what Captain Liddell Hart really does mean.

We are on firm ground, however, with his case for falling back on defense, or what he calls the "offensive-defensive," and leaving all the so-called disadvantages of attack with the enemy. It is unnecessary to challenge this theory directly when we can follow Captain Liddell Hart's line of argument in the light of the British victories in Libya over superior numbers, and, indeed, the German sweep

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PALO ALTO PUBLIC LIBRARY

through the Low Countries that brought France to her feet in a month. No one would maintain that any disadvantage lay with the offensive in these instances, though the author can counter with the convincing argument that the Allies should never have advanced beyond their fortified line on the Belgian frontier. As he saw it, the growth of defensive weapons was so pronounced that between adversaries of equal caliber a superiority of at least three to one, not only in men but in weapons, was needed for an offensive to have any chance of success. Here he based his arguments on a passage from the Official History of the last War, stating that "numbers approaching three to one are required to turn the scale decisively, as they eventually began to do in the Autumn of 1918," and on being challenged maintained that these words suggested a general rather than a local superiority. The official reference, in any case, was to trench warfare and the all-powerful sway of the machine gun; but Captain Liddell Hart could still explain the enemy's successes last May by his possession of the requisite advantage, and more, in tanks and aircraft.

Few people will be satisfied that this was the whole explanation, and the author himself writes of the uneasiness with which he viewed the appointment of General Weygand. It is fairly clear, too, from his commentaries both before and during the blitzkrieg that he was quite unprepared to see the "sovereignty of defense" borne down so completely. In a footnote to an article headed "Is It Stalemate in the West?" he is reduced to pointing out that a reference to "'inviolate" frontiers was used explicitly in distinction to "inviolable" frontiers, when a few sentences before occurs the passage: "Unless the conclusion is totally unsound [the Official History's three to one] no stretch of the imagination can find on either side now the potential means of victory in a total war."

Yet, in a masterly analysis of the French Army written in 1926, Captain Liddell Hart was probably much nearer the truth. He was convinced then that the French had no desire to don Germany's "threadbare" mantle of military ambition and that sheer distaste for war was the motive underlying all their defensive measures. They were aiming, the author went on, at producing a powerful but rigid fighting machine, strongly influenced by their dictum that fire-power is the preponderant factor. The idea of maneuver was subordinated to that of building up a moving wall of fire, and in defense the greatest stress was laid on a network of static fire positions—all this was written before the Maginot Line, with its invincible system of cross-fire, was begun, and, in addition, serious misgivings were expressed about the quality of incoming French officers.

VERY few of his readers will disagree with the author's shrewd forecasts on mechanization. Events have so completely proved him right, except that he is over-eager to cast the infantry and field artillery into the limbo of lost causes. In a series of technical papers he sees the infantry holding fortified bases or acting as ferrets

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

against similar positions of the enemy, as though that were not enough. Even if masses of German infantry have masked their "power-units" they could hardly hope to hold the territories they have overrun without them, and it is hard to imagine what General Wavell would have done without the bayonets of the Australians.

Captain Liddell Hart's selection of his work is curiously self-revealing. As the years pass, his adventurous vision of the tank assault restoring mobility to the battlefield in the guise of the reborn cavalry charge gives way to a largely political concern with defense. He sees the bomber as the transcendent arm, and even asks if armies and navies are obsolete. He is bitterly critical of a foreign policy that gave a guarantee to Poland without the means of fulfilling it, and, apart from a brief flash of aggressive spirit in counselling a daring offensive in Norway, lapses into gloomy reflections on the futility of war for both sides.

The suggestion that the British Empire is fighting for its survival seems hardly to enter into his calculations, and the idea that there is anything to be hoped from a military offensive against Germany becomes a fallacy. In his search for a new technique, indeed, he suggests that a declaration that we were renouncing military attack as a means of combating aggression would be a far-sighted move, and while looking solely to our defense we should always leave a ladder by which the enemy can climb down. Talk of "victory," he argues, is not only idle but can only stiffen the resistance of the German people, feeling themselves faced with another Versailles, and Britain should have accepted Hitler's offer of qualitative disarmament, as though he had not been able to build up a vast air force in secret! Such, in substance, is the latter-day doctrine of Captain Liddell Hart; whatever may be thought of it, his book will no doubt command wide study. At least the currents of war are there, all right.

•

Humor in Japanese Literature

By Kuni Sasaki

Contemporary Japan, Tokyo

JAPAN'S history itself opens with laughter. When Amatérasu Ohmikami, the Sun Goddess, angered at the violent deeds of her brother, Susano-no-Mikoto, hid herself behind Amano Iwato, or the Rock-Door of Heaven, the world was plunged into darkness. In great dismay, some eight million deities of mythological Japan gathered in front of the Rock-Door and played gay music to appease the angry heart of the Sun Goddess. Hearing the merry laughter of the gods, the Sun Goddess opened the Rock-Door slightly to peer at the merry-making, whereupon Tajikarao-no-Mikoto, strongest of the deities, pushed aside the Rock-Door, and the radiant figure of the Sun Goddess appeared to make the world bright again.

This is the first chapter of Japan's history. Since that mythical time, the Japanese have never forgotten laughter. Later they were educated by Confucianism to conceal joy, anger, sorrow and other emotions, as a result of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which they earned the reputation of being inscrutable, their emotions, if emotions they had, being concealed beneath a mask of frozen apathy. But a keen observer will certainly discern emotions in the Japanese face, registered perhaps more delicately than would be the case in the countenance of a foreigner. The masks used for the *noh* play, though simply sculptured, can express delicately nuances of laughter or sorrow by simply being raised or lowered a little. The Japanese have an extremely sensitive heart, and far from being insensitive to humor, they are a people who respond to all the lighter appeals to the human mind. It is not surprising, therefore, that humorous literature has occupied a prominent place at all times in Japanese history.

Such stories as "Haizumi" and "Yoshinashigoto" found in the *Tsutsumi Chunagon Monogatari*, Japan's oldest collection of short stories, are representative humorous tales of old Japan. In "Haizumi" a young lover calls unexpectedly on his sweetheart one evening. The girl, in her consternation, makes a hurried toilet and puts soot on her face mistaking it for powder. At beholding the strange transformation in the appearance of his loved one, the young man suddenly becomes cold toward her. As humorous writing, this story cannot be regarded as of very high order, but it differs markedly from the humor found in the *Takétori Monogatari* which relies principally upon the use of puns. "Yoshinashigoto" is satirical and cynical. It takes the form of a letter written by a Buddhist priest to his sweetheart, the preface informing the reader that the writer of the letter expected to receive presents from his lady-love. The amusing epistle begins solemnly, the priest stating that he wants to lead a secluded life of meditation on the top of a high mountain because he is sick of worldly affairs. He continues by saying that he prefers mountains in China because the peaks of Japan are so easily accessible. In his enthusiasm, the priest declares that mountains in India are still better, and finally points out that he wants to ascend to heaven. For this purpose, he writes, he needs a Heavenly Robe of Feathers and wishes to have one sent to him. If, however, the lady has no such robe of feathers, he will be content with even a threadbare robe of any kind. With this staggering anticlimax, the letter ends.

THE humor of the *Tsutsumi Chunagon Monogatari* is alive and taken from real life. In it are found comical accounts of a princess who kept insects which people dislike, of court nobles yawning while a musician plays, and other equally comic scenes for which equivalents are easily found in contemporary life. The well-known *Tale of the Genji* has many humorous passages. Comic relief is provided by a Court physician in the *Ochikubo Monogatari*, another tale written in the Heian period. This is unquestionably the first piece of doctor's humor in Japanese literature.

Generally speaking, the Heian period was peaceful and quiet, which accounts perhaps for the abundance of humor in its literature. The Kamakura

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

period, which followed, however, was an age made turbulent by fighting warriors, its intellectual life being dominated by pessimistic Buddhist ideas. The literature of this age is represented by such works as the *Heiké Monogatari*, which for the most part emphasized the ephemerality of the world. Nevertheless, humor was not altogether suppressed. Buddhism itself gave birth to a number of humorous or ironical literary works. For example, the *Tsurézurégusa* is the name of a collection of essays by a Buddhist recluse, one of which tells how a priest came to acquire the nickname of "Saint Stump." There was once a priest who lived under a large oak tree, and people thus called him "Saint Oak." Irked by this nickname, the priest had the tree cut down, but thereafter the people changed his nickname to "Saint Stump." The priest, again irritated, this time had the stump removed and thrown into a moat. But there was no escape, for henceforth he was known as "Saint Stump-in-the Moat."

The Ashikaga period bequeathed to posterity what is known as *kyogen*, a kind of comic drama which grew out of the *noh* play. While the *noh* drama is utterly aristocratic, *kyogen* is completely plebian and aims at comic effects exclusively. For the most part, the characters who appear on the *kyogen* stage are drawn from popular types among the masses, rather than the heroes and ghosts of the *noh*, for laughter born of daily plebian life was what the *kyogen* writers sought.

One of the earliest forms of the Yedo literature was a type of illustrated story book known as *Kibyoshi*, literally "yellow covers." People were amused not only by reading them but also by looking at their pictures, many of which were of a comic nature. A rough parallel may be drawn with such works as *Pickwick Papers*, though *Kibyoshi* were lighter and simpler, aimed to appeal to the tastes of the masses alone. "*Sharébon*" (comic books) were a later type of humorous writing which were more realistic and somewhat more erotic than *Kibyoshi*, but also aimed to meet the literary requirements of the *chonin*.

MOST of the earlier *Kibyoshi* and *Sharébon* are not regarded with much literary acclaim now, but they paved the way for the appearance of the real classics in *chonin* literature, such as *Hizakurigué* and the *Ukiyoburo* and *Ukiyodoko* of Shikitei Samba, masterpieces of Yedo humor. Ikku, the author of *Hizakurigé*, was for a time an official in the Yedo court, a position he had received from his father. But he gave up that post to his younger brother and roamed the country, and what he saw in his wanderings, especially along the famous Tokaido, served as material for his masterpiece. The heroes of *Hizakurigé* are two Yedo townsmen, poor, but fond of wine, women and song, whose lives are a succession of comical blunders. The misadventures of Yaji and Kita kept readers of the closing years of the Yedo period rolling with laughter, though the book was not without its passages of pathos. The two works of Samba, one set in an Yedo bathhouse and the other in an Yedo barber shop, have

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

locales where no aristocrat or *samurai* ventured. All the characters are of the townsman class to which Samba himself belonged. His are stories of the masses, told in the language and dialect of such people. For his closeness to the common people, he also reminds one of Dickens, for there is no better cross-section of life among the *chonin* than is to be found in the pages of *Ukiyoburo* and *Ukiyodoko*. His attention was at all times drawn to what was sordid in life, to the failings of humanity. The best examples of his realism are *Meitei Katagi* (*Types of Inebriation*) and *Nyobo Katagi* (*A Shrewish Wife*) which are immortal sketches of everyday life. Compared with Ikku, Samba showed a greater ability to grasp human nature.

The literary humor of the Yedo period was relayed to the Meiji era by Robun Kanagaki, a humorous writer of the last years of the Shogunate who lived over into the new age. He had no particular talent and led a dissolute life, but quick to appreciate the change in trends of thought, he wrote *Seiyo Hizakurigé* in which the two heroes of Ikku's masterpiece reappear to undertake an imaginary voyage abroad. Of course, the author had never been outside of Japan, so his materials were drawn from what he had heard from overseas travellers or what he could find in books on the subject, especially the famous *Seiyo Jijyo* by Yukichi Fukuzawa, the great educational leader. Exploiting the great popularity of Ikku's two heroes and with an abundant use of puns and witticisms in the real Yedo tradition, his book made a hit among the masses.

The champion of the new Meiji literature was Sohseki Natsumé. Natsumé's style was well adapted to the new trend of thought. It was natural and devoid of over-emphasis, and possessed a breezy raciness. He rose to fame by *I Am a Cat* and *Botchan* (*The Young Master*). The former describes what happens to an eccentric middle-school teacher of English by the name of Kushami, as seen by a cat kept by him. Kushami's home is the rendezvous for his friends who are no less eccentric than he. All of them are unconscious of their peculiarities, which are "described" by the cat with a satirical touch. Mrs. Kanéda, wife of a *nouveau riche*, is cleverly introduced.

Botchan deals with the adventures of a young middle-school teacher of mathematics who has a keen sense of justice and who has seen little of the world. Plots, rivalries and hypocrisy in the teachers' community form the basis of the story. Its characters have now achieved immortality in the world of Japanese literature. The author must have relied much on his own experience as a teacher in writing this book. It is a fitting satire about the type of teachers of whom Lafacadio Hearn wrote, "Nothing is more unpleasant than the atmosphere in the teachers' rooms." In all his books, Natsumé's human nature and sense of humor are present.

THUS through all Japanese literature, regardless of the trends of each age, there has been a broad vein of humor, a phenomenon which has again and again confirmed the spontaneous light-heartedness of the Japanese race.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our Own Bookshelf

TOWARD A PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY. *By José Ortega y Gasset. New York: W. W. Norton & Co. 273 pages. $2.75.*

LAW WITHOUT FORCE. *By Gerhart Niemeyer. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1941. 408 & XIV pages. $3.75.*

Reviewed by RUBIN GOTESKY, Ph.D.

ONE WHO has not read Ortega y Gasset before will conclude the reading of the first two chapters of his new book, *Toward a Philosophy of History*, with this not very flattering remark: Ortega is universally admired because he chisels out platitudes in a classic, literary style. On finishing the next two chapters, one is compelled to think admiringly: Now one understands why he is considered a profound philosopher: he transforms every platitude, by deviously apt means, into an exquisitely annoying falsehood.

It is only when one finishes the last chapter that one's growing admiration for the man bursts through its chrysalis of prejudice. One is suddenly struck by the fact that Ortega is really a great individual and mass psychologist who, for reasons not easily determinable, has assumed the abstract guise of a philosopher of history. Many incidental remarks that had impressed one as psychologically acute, now take their place in clarifying the man and his role among men. One now understands why his writings have awakened a response in so many people to whom the methods of science are foreign and the superstitions of religion repellant.

To these people, science is too inhuman, too cold, too remote from the immediate sensuous perception of things; religion, on the other hand, twists the emotional life into a perpetual posture of prayer and the thinking life into a distortion of the visible. Such people desire a point of view which is neither remote from the visible world nor an apparent distortion of it; they want a point of view which will not exclude the warmth of feeling, the pain, pleasure, colors and sounds that our senses reveal. In short, they want a faith or, as Ortega aptly puts it, a "revelation" that is at once intimate to their hearts and logical to their minds. They want to feel the self-importance and uniqueness of status which a religion gives but without being religious; they want to think logically and empirically as does science but without using its methods.

Ortega y Gasset is himself one of these people. He differs from them only in greater self-awareness, in a genius for self-expression and analysis and in brilliant psychological insight. Remarkable traits, naturally! But they do not take him out of their class. These traits make it possible for him to be their literary voice and oracle.

Ortega's instinctive dislike for science takes the form of a sharp attempt

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to delimit its function. Since the physical and biological sciences have already revealed, in innumerable ways, how deeply they have penetrated to the secrets of nature, this success can hardly be denied them. They are enjoying it already. But he can try to explain it away. He can ascribe to science the character of seeking only the invariant and eternal; and to nature, the character of being static and changeless. Thus it follows that natural science and nature are ideally suited for each other. Nature can yield her secrets to science, because science yearns to know only that which will not change. Man, however, is history; man is a dynamic, constantly changing, past-incorporating being. He has no law which is invariant to his nature, for his nature can never be the same. Thus science can never understand him, for it can never understand what is always variable.

BY trickily opposing unhistorical nature and static science to historical man and dynamic history, Ortega can attribute to man an extra-natural mode of existence which is akin to the supernatural mode of existence ascribed to man by western religions. Like most western religions, he can place man outside of nature and so partly uncontrolled by it, but he can boast proudly that he has done this without subscribing to any religious doctrine or submitting to any church. By such a trick, he satisfies his unquenched desire, derived from his early Christian training, to feel unique and self-important in a wide, indifferent universe. By such a trick, he finds it possible to say:

"Here we come upon the formidable and unparalleled character which makes man unique in the universe. We are dealing—and let the disquieting strangeness of the case be well noted—with an entity whose being consists not in what it is already, but in what it is not yet, a being that consists in not-yet-being. Everything else in the world is what it is."

This sharp opposition between man and nature, history and natural science seems extremely plausible to men seeking a pseudo-religious faith or revelation. It pleases their vanity; it gives them *the* place of distinction in an unfathomed universe; it creates a sense of illimitable freedom and power over the world and our animal selves. But it is only necessary to ask one simple question to explode this intellectually pleasing balloon: If nature is so unhistorical, so static and unchanging, how is it possible for life and man to have evolved in it? Only supernaturalism, which Ortega repudiates, can give an oracular and satisfactory answer to this question.

Despite his learning and apparent respect for facts, Ortega prefers the hot-house warmth of literary insight to the arctic cold of disillusioning fact. He prefers the outer semblance of logic as a literary and psychological play toy, to the essential nature of logic as a precise instrument for discovering the testible or verifiable consequences of a theory.

Toward a Philosophy of History is, after all, only a compilation of essays written on a variety of themes, some of them unquestionably important as, for example, the origin of the state,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the future of Europe, the nature of technology and the nature of history. These themes have vast implications and deserve deep analysis but, in this short review, deep analysis is impossible. The most one dares do is show by a few crucial examples how Ortega exemplifies the method and psychology of that class of people we spoke of above. Those examples will show that he is never interested in finding those consequences which can test his theories.

In Chapter III, "Man the Technician," Ortega develops the hypothesis that technology is, in reality, the production of superfluities. One does not know whether this hypothesis is true or false, but one does want to know how one can go about finding out one way or the other. One wants to know, for example, what defines a "necessity" and what a "superfluity." What, for example, would be a "necessity" and what a "superfluity" in the neolithic age? Are the greater number of technological inventions of that age "superfluities" or "necessities?"

ORTEGA believes that technology arose because of man's desire for "well-being." One would like to know how to distinguish "well-being" from mere "being," so that one could agree with him that animals are only interested in "being" but man in "well-being." Is the gorilla, for example, which is well taken care of in a modern zoo but dies of pining for his forest home, interested in "well-being" or in mere "being"?

In this same essay, Ortega pithily declares that to know the vision of man is to know his technology. One would be foolish to deny a correlation. But how does one know which vision, in any given historical period, is *the* vision? Does *the* vision have special earmarks like slaves? Is the technology of an age the determinant? What kind of influence does a changing technology have over the vision? Are there any criteria or tests which define the kind of influence each has over the other?

In Chapter IV, "History as a System," Ortega re-affirms an old historical theory that to know the structure of man's life, one must know his ideas, *i.e.*, the ideas that really move his life. No one can deny that the ideas men live by influence their lives. But how does one find out which are the ideas men live by? How can one know whether one "repertory" of ideas or another is the ideas men live by?

Ortega as a social scientist has very serious defects. But it is not just to leave the impression that his book is simply a sum of deficiencies. There are many good things in it. The psychological analysis of the Argentinean, for example, is remarkable. Whether Argentineans are really as Ortega describes them is a matter of indifference. The fact is that society today swarms with "Argentineans." There are innumerable men and women who live by externals; who have no real inner faith or vision or inspiration to guide them; whose inner life is a phantom and outer life a shell easily cracked.

Ortega also raises significant questions, even though he has no answers for them. For example, he recognizes that totalitarian man is here to stay

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unless the average man is transformed into an individuality. Ortega is keenly aware that modern technology has created a special problem that must be solved. Man needs to develop a social vision that will help him to use appropriately the material abundance and leisure created by technology. Without this new vision, this society created by technology must vanish.

•

DR. NIEMEYER, in *Law Without Force*, has sculptured a grandiose tombstone to mark the grave of traditional international law. Upon this tombstone, he has cut not only the dates but the causes for its birth and death.

International law, according to Dr. Niemeyer, was born approximately three hundred years ago out of the struggles of the princes with the estates. He does not make very clear the causes for this struggle, but he does emphasize one point: that the consequence of this struggle was the establishment of the modern state and the rise of primitive international or, better described, inter-prince law.

Dr. Niemeyer correctly points out that the church played an important role in the formation and development of inter-prince law. If it had not been for the universality of Catholic Christianity and the universal authority of the Catholic Church, inter-prince law might never have gone beyond very primitive beginnings.

The most decisive factor, however, for the change from inter-prince to international law was the rise in power of a special section of the third estate: the modern bourgeoisie or capitalists. Their economic interests transcended not only the borders of the city-states but even the borders of the new national states arising in Europe. Although Dr. Niemeyer nowhere states this, it is no accident that the first international law, in the modern sense, is found in the agreements and regulations relating to international finance and maritime trade. Nor is it an accident, as Dr. Niemeyer notes, that the modern theory of international law was developed precisely in those states like Holland which had not only become the commercial and financial centers of the world, but had broken with Catholic Christianity. It is non-Catholic thinkers like Grotius who are the founders of international law, in the proper sense of the word.

Dr. Niemeyer points out that the theory of international law developed by Grotius broke fundamentally with traditional Catholic conceptions of international relations. In the first place, it expresses the interests not of the landed estates but of a new, rising power: the modern bourgeoisie. In the second place, the state is made the absolute, secular creator of law; the state, in other words, is completely emancipated from the spiritual domination of a church. In the third place, international law, is so defined as to prevent the state from interfering, as far as possible, with international trade. Lastly, the bourgeois individual, his ethics and social ideals, are made the foundation-stone of the state and of international law.

Modern international law is simply

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an extension to states of certain fundamental rights of the bourgeois individual: his rights to equality before the law, to private property and to enter into binding contracts. Like the individual, the state is considered as independent and the equal of every other state. Like the property of an individual, the property of a state is theoretically considered sacred and inviolable and to be respected by other states. Like contracts between individuals, the contracts of states are considered as binding on the states that enter into them.

This theory of international law worked pretty well until the twentieth century, but, meanwhile, economic forces were blindly working to destroy the basis of international law. Dr. Niemeyer points out that the growth of international competition and imperialism, the transformation of national economic crises into world crises, the extension of unemployment to new layers of the world population were ominous signs of the coming fatality. The feverish creation of all kinds of international agencies, after the first World War, and the tremendous noise of activity they made, only served to muffle the death-rattle. It was the world crisis of 1930 which exposed economically the fact that the world market, the base of international society, had vanished. In legal terms, this meant the end of international law both as theory and as practice.

HOW does Dr. Niemeyer propose to restore international law and the international society? After his complete rejection of the assumptions of traditional international law and his criticisms of the social structure of contemporary society, one would logically expect him to answer: Reorganize society upon new economic and social principles. Make the ends of social man, not the needs of the isolated individual, the root-idea of social organization. Do away with private property. Make each state a subordinate, not the supreme, unit of international society.

In short, one would expect him to sweep away the ideas and institutions which produced the present international situation.

Dr. Niemeyer, however, is not quite so radical. He is very ready, in general, to throw overboard the old ideas of international law, but he is ready to do this only theoretically. He is not ready to make sweeping institutional changes. Theoretically he is ready to replace the old idea of the isolated individual by one which he calls "man-co-ordinate," *i.e.*, man organized as society, and to subordinate the idea of the national state to the idea of the larger social needs and functions of international society. He is, however, vague about the idea of private property. He does not tell us whether it should be replaced by the idea of social property.

As to the method of bringing about these changes in idea, Dr. Niemeyer is fortunately very specific. He does not think that the method should be one of sweeping social changes. What he wants is a change in approach, upon the part of our lawyers, legislators and diplomats, to the whole question of international law. They should substi-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tute the "functional approach" for the Grotian and Austinian.

We can not praise Dr. Niemeyer too highly for his anatomical exposure of the causes for the failure of international law and the breakdown of international society. We also think his criticisms of traditional conceptions of the law, while not exactly new, equally valuable. Unfortunately, our natural scepticism and acquired cynicism prevent us, in the present state of the world, from taking seriously his constructive proposals in the eight and ninth chapters of his book.

(Dr. Gotesky, who has taught at New York University and Long Island University, has contributed to such periodicals as the Philosophical Review, The American Sociological Review, The New Republic *and* The Saturday Review of Literature.*)*

RIDDLE OF THE REICH. *By Wythe Williams in collaboration with Albert Parry. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1941. 351 pages. $2.75.*

WITH sometimes astonishing accuracy, Wythe Williams for some years now has been reporting and predicting events in censor-ridden Europe over the air, and as a clue to the tenor of the present volume, written in collaboration with Dr. Albert Parry, it might be remarked that Mr. Williams was one of the first definitely anti-Fascist commentators. Some twenty-six years as a foreign correspondent familiarized him with conditions abroad and moreover, as though he knew what was coming, enabled him to establish a sort of private system of undercover listening posts as his sources of information.

The riddle, of course, is German plans and stability. So absorbed do we become in the flood of details, letters, eye-witness accounts and the authors' own observations that we almost lose sight of the answer. The riddle has been elaborated, diagrammed and even overlaid without giving us the key.

The Nazi riddle extends to the occupied countries and it is there, perhaps, where it can be examined more freely and its weaknesses exposed. Fascism in France the authors treat simply as an arrant aping by native führers of the German model, which seems rather far-fetched to anyone acquainted with the Gallic character. French sophistication has never quite disguised the peasant, and surely there is some clue between that and the Fascist agrarian state Vichy promulgates by decree. It is where fascism is grooved to fit in with national propensities that it offers its real threat, and so with the explanation of the Germans.

Transport is revealed by the authors as a growing Nazi headache, to which victory has only contributed an indigestible amount of rolling-stock. Fats are low and the rigid, scientific control of food still does not net the Germans a sufficiency. The flesh of horses, dogs and cats is eaten, the last being popularly, or unpopularly, known as "roof-rabbit."

The Riddle of the Reich is a diverting encyclopedia of straws in the wind. The chapter "Nazi Blueprint for U. S. A." is of particular interest. But it is when the authors, bringing the German threat to our own shores, stammer out a sort of apologia for an American imperialism of benevolence that their notions require more than passing thought. In Germany they are on surer ground.

—JOHN MITCHELL

HANDS OFF. A History of the Monroe Doctrine. *By Dexter Perkins. New York: Little, Brown & Co. 1941. 455 pages. $3.50.*

THE much misinterpreted, often misapplied and by many thoroughly misunderstood Monroe Doctrine has been for years the object of bitter attack, particularly by those whom we now consider our "Good Neighbors."

The Doctrine was originally a simple, unilateral declaration, made by President Monroe in 1823, when the "totalitarian" powers of that day formed the "Holy Al-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

liance of Peoples" for the declared purpose of liquidating democracies, republics and the spirit of liberty and of re-establishing the "sacred" principle of absolute monarchist rule all over the world. To these powers, the emergence of more or less free—or at least independent—republics in Latin America, following their successful revolutions against Spanish rule, was as intolerable as the existence of Republican Spain of 1936 to Fascist Italy and Germany. Monroe's declaration was a warning to these powers that this country would "consider any attempt on their part to extend their political system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. . . . We could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them [the new independent republics], or controlling in any other manner their destiny by an European power in any other light than as an unfriendly disposition toward the United States." This "warning" was at the time probably no more than a heroic gesture, as the United States had certainly no power to enforce this principle. It nevertheless was, historically, one of the most important declarations of a nation willing to take great risks in the interest of the liberty of other peoples.

Dexter Perkins' book is probably the most important and complete work on the Monroe Doctrine yet written. He gives a complete history of American foreign relations for the last hundred years, wherever the Doctrine was involved, as well as the reactions to it in Europe and Latin America. Prince Metternich's attack on it in 1824 was as violent as anything we might read today in *Regime Fascista* or the *Schwarze Korps*: "In their [the United States'] indecent declarations they have cast blame and scorn on the institutions of Europe most worthy of respect, on the principles of its great sovereigns . . . which has forced our governments to adopt measures to frustrate plans most criminal. . . . They lend strength to the apostles of seditions and reanimate the courage of every conspirator."

The author does not try to gloss over the unfortunate interpretations which some of our previous governments gave to the Doctrine as a justification for aggression and interference in the countries to the south of us. Because of these "corollaries," the Doctrine has been viewed by many Latin Americans as almost the opposite of what it was intended to be, as a claim by the United States to dominate this hemisphere. This has greatly contributed to the long-lasting latent hostility of Latin-American countries toward us. Fortunately, the last few years have seen a return to the basic principle of Monroe, and the Good Neighbor policy of the present United States Government combined with the renewed threat from Europe have put the Doctrine on the higher plane of a pact for the mutual defense of all the countries of this hemisphere.

An excellent index and a bibliography of source material after each chapter, as well as notes at the end of the book, contribute greatly to the value of the work for reference.

—S. N.

HAWAII: RESTLESS RAMPART. *By Joseph Barber, Jr. New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1941. 285 pages. $2.75.*

ORPHANS OF THE PACIFIC. *By Florence Horn. New York: Reynal-Hitchcock. 1941. 316 pages with Index. Illustrated. $3.50.*

INCREASING tension in the Far East—in part legitimate and in part the result of war and empire-minded alarmists—has served to focus considerable attention on America's Pacific involvements. At the same time this newly aroused concern has served to emphasize the widespread ignorance that persists in relation to American holdings in the Pacific, particularly in regards to Hawaii and the Philippines.

To a remarkable degree, the problems both groups of islands present at the moment are strangely identical. In theory, Hawaii is now clamoring for statehood—as it has done on and off ever since 1854. And the Philippines, again in theory, are anxiously awaiting 1946 and the moment of their complete independence from American rule, Yet, just as in Hawaii certain powerful and long-intrenched interests object to Hawaii's becoming "the forty-ninth state"—fearing, as they do a possible Federal supervision over their

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

long-existent private monopolies—so in the Philippines similar private groups object to coming independence for purely financial reasons.

As a direct result of this conflict between public and private interests, and the attendant lobbying in Washington, the picture of our Pacific "problems" has been definitely and even deliberately distorted. The public statements of military and naval experts have hardly clarified that picture. Only a complete understanding of the background and history of American intervention and occupation in the islands—both Hawaiian and Philippine—can do that.

Mr. Barber's book on Hawaii is by way of being a much-needed clinical report on that colorfully publicized group of islands. He gives a clear and realistic picture of the early missionary-sired exploitation and eventual annexation of the islands; he depicts, as well, the peculiar relationship of the dominant island forces—the Big Five, the little group of private monopolists who until recently have run the affairs of Hawaii with almost a feudal hand; the Army and Navy with their narrowly militaristic aims; and the Japanese.

At the moment it is the Japanese, numerically the largest racial group in Hawaii, who are considered the most controversial problem. Mr. Barber points out, however, the important part they have played in the agricultural and economic growth of the islands, a part that has rarely been properly rewarded. If there is disunity in the islands today, it is due in no small part to the racial intolerance that seemed part and parcel of the white ruling clique.

This same racial bigotry was found by Miss Florence Horn to be a heavily contributing factor to the present dissension in the Philippines. In her present book, *Orphans of the Pacific*, Miss Horn does a clinical job equal to that of Mr. Barber. Sharply and penetratingly, she explores every facet of life in the Philippines; social, religious, political, economic, military. More important, she examines the Filipinos, themselves; discovers what they think about their American "protectors" and why.

Both books are important reading for Americans concerned with our future program in the Pacific; important because they go behind the political scenes and deal with the problems and life of the native peoples of those controversial islands. Without such an understanding there can be no permanent clarification of the current Pacific muddle.

—Joseph Hilton Smyth

Ambassador Dodd's Diary. *Edited by William E. Dodd, Jr., and Martha Dodd. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1941. 464 pages. $3.50.*

THERE were, at one time, many criticisms of Roosevelt's appointment of William E. Dodd to the important post of Ambassador to Germany—a man who was neither a professional diplomat nor wealthy enough to maintain the Embassy on a grand scale and who was "out of sympathy" with the administration of the country to which he was accredited. (Dodd himself notes that the hostility of the present Under-Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, was the cause for his recall several months earlier than planned.) But less than four years after the end of his term of service, it is a matter of pride to most Americans that their Ambassador to Germany from 1933 to 1937, was an intelligent and steadfast representative of the democratic tradition, while around him such envoys of other so-called democracies as Sir Nevile Henderson were trying to "make friends with" Hitler and Göring. He was shocked at Sir Nevile's complacence toward German domination of Europe and wondered "if he really represents his Government? What would happen to Britain if Germany annexed all the peoples all the way to the Black Sea?" Henderson had told him that "England and her Empire is to dominate the seas, along with the United States."

Though Dodd bluntly considered the triumvirate of Nazi leaders "murderers" and refused to have anything to do with them except in a strictly official capacity, he felt no such antagonism toward Germany or Germans in general, even many of the lesser Nazis. He had been a student at the University of Leipzig at the end of the nineteenth century, in the great days of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

German historical teaching. As an objective follower of Wilson—two of his most important historical publications were *Woodrow Wilson and His Work* and *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson* which he co-edited with Ray Stannard Baker—he was sympathetic toward Germany's post-War difficulties.

Dodd, obviously, had no greater—or lesser—effect on Nazi policies than a more compromising man might have had. The interesting subject for speculation raised by the acute estimates of men and the historian's analysis of events, as recorded in the *Diary*, is the influence of Dodd's reports in shaping Roosevelt's policy toward the Axis. What difference would it have made if our Ambassador to Germany in the period when the Nazi steam-roller was getting under way had been "one of the rich men appointed to foreign posts who know little history of their own or any other country," such as the "good-natured" George Earle, or William C. Bullitt, who sounded to Dodd "like an emotional friend of the President but not one whose judgment can be relied on"?

—M. McF.

MAN STANDS ALONE. *By Julian Huxley. New York: Harper & Brothers. 297 pages. $2.75.*

THIS is a collection of fifteen papers so beguiling that the reader finishes the last, by this eminent biologist, with irritation that the species of essayists is all but extinct. Mr. Huxley ranges here from the courtship of crabs, spiders and wrens to the intelligence of birds and to an analysis of fame as it is gauged by the British *Who's Who*. In a world gone berserk, the author persuades his audience that the foregoing studies are of sharp relevancy. The trick lies in the exercise of an agile scientific mind, plus wit, plus a civilized style. Does the reader know that the ear-tufts and tippet of the shore-bird are evidence that the Nazi system is a negation of all civilized order? Or that the fact that Ernest Hemingway is included in the British *Who's Who*, but not William Faulkner, is another sign of the laissez-faire era which led to the present holocaust? If he doesn't, Mr. Huxley provides the answers and explanations in many eloquent paragraphs.

But this biologist-essayist is nowhere preposterous. He writes his foreword in the air-raid shelter of the London Zoo, to the grace notes of anti-aircraft fire, and in that dank refuge he remarks that "to the biologist who is not afraid of being a humanist as well, the essence of human life is seen in social relationships. Out of those relations of men in society spring the values which we must excavate from their matrix of custom and organization, and clarify as the conscious basis of the new order."

As might be supposed, Mr. Huxley does not believe in a god, even in the face of the marvels and miracles he has seen among mice, penguins and men: "The conception of divinity seems to me, though built up out of a number of real elements of experience, to be a false one, based on the quite unjustifiable postulate that there must be some more or less personal power in control of the world. . . . So far as we can see, [the universe] rules itself." But with a good deal of vehemence, he does believe in life. "I believe that life can be worth living. I believe this in spite of pain, squalor, cruelty, unhappiness and death. I do not believe that it is necessarily worth living, but only that for most people it can be." That is demonstrably so, if one writes and thinks as spiritedly as Mr. Huxley.

FINLAND FOREVER. *By Hudson Strode. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1941. 443 pages. $3.50.*

ONE of the best of the Spring's travel books is Hudson Strode's *Finland Forever*—a book depicting a nation triumphant and at the same time appealing for help for a small people.

Harcourt, Brace and Company, who published the book, lavished much care upon its composition, and its thirty-one beautiful illustrations which give an excellent survey of the entire country.

Mr. Strode in his book has continually poured forth his love of democracy and his sympathy for oppression into an analysis of a brave, invincible community. This book does not discuss at length buildings constructed by man, nor even achieve-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ments of men, but interprets the glories of a landscape into terms of enduring sensitivity.

All who know Mr. Strode's writings admire his style. In *Finland Forever* he has surpassed himself.

His admiration of the Finnish character is unbounded. In one place he says: "In her design for living Finland created a pure democracy that is worthy of the world's remembrance. How long she can hold it no one can foretell. But Finland's spirit will never be enchanted. Whatever happens, the little nation has earned a glorious immortality."

Mr. Strode, after his residence in Finland and his interviews with leaders in various walks of life, believes that the climate has a great influence in shaping the Finnish character.

He quotes Ralph Enkell of the Finnish Foreign Office:

"To understand what makes us tick you must remember Winter and what it does to us. It is one of the keys that give access to a comprehension of the Finnish soul. The other three key-words are space, solitude, struggle."

—Frank P. S. Glassey

(Frank P. S. Glassey, who is now in the Latin-American division of the New York office of the United Press, was formerly a vice consul to Finland.)

That Men May Understand. *By Harold Rugg. New York: Doubleday, Doran. 1941. 355 pages. $2.75.*

Beginning at Chapter IX, this book tells of an able mind, trained in engineering, turned loose on the problem of modernizing the technique of teaching about society in the public schools. Dr. Rugg tells of his heritage and environment, of the near-accidental circumstance which brought him to his problem—and of the broadening of his own philosophy as he came into ever-wider contact with his field. There is no doubt that he has done well. Neither is there any doubt—if his understanding continues to broaden, as it probably will—that in ten years or less he will wish to revise this story. It is badly written, repetitious and in its name-calling, brash egotism and complete failure to understand the fundamental bases of human reaction, far beneath the dignity of the man he will become. He is certainly not, as his publishers claim in the blurb, a great historian. Neither is he a great statistician, geographer, economist or philosopher. He is a country boy with an excellent mind who has done and is doing a goob job in evolving teaching tools to fit a need peculiar to our times. He unconsciously reveals in this book the source of the widely publicized controversy over his various works. I quote (eliding without distortion) from pages 201-02: " . . . to explore the chief characteristics of the American Scene, I waded into a mass of articles, books and monographs by engineers, social workers and economics professors, as well as the publications of mining, railroad and trade commissions. . . . I must confess that a good deal of mental and emotional discomfort accompanied it all, for attitudes of long standing had to be uprooted." He goes on from there to tell of the findings he made and of the program evolved for presenting those findings in the schools. The ready acceptance of his work by hard-bitten school masters and the parent-public is sufficient evidence of its soundness. However, he did not make plain to the public at large the steps by means of which his program evolved. He is certainly naïve in failing to see that ideas which, on first contact, gave him "emotional and mental discomfort" would produce like discomfort in many adults when they came across them, unprepared, in textbooks already in use in the schools. His lengthy and highly emotional comments on attempts to censor school activities by various minority groups indicate only that textbook writers, publishers and other school-men should by this time have evolved some intelligent method of forestalling or meeting such attacks.

As to the books themselves, his constant comment reveals how well aware he is that, now, after several revisions, they are still evolving. So is his own philosophy.

With the reservations implied above, I recommend the reading of this book. Although most of what Dr. Rugg has to say has already been better said, his organization of the material in an integrated pattern is one of the most significant recent

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

popular contributions to thought on educational problems.

—JOHN BUCHANAN

(*John Buchanan is the* nom de plume *of a former secondary-school teacher.*)

I WAS WINSTON CHURCHILL'S PRIVATE SECRETARY. *By Phyllis Moir. New York: Willard Funk. 1941. 221 pages. $2.00.*

WHETHER or not Winston Churchill is, as the Earl of Gosford observes in the introduction to Phyllis Moir's anecdotal book, "even more than a very great man," he is beyond all doubt England's man of the hour. Churchill has confessed that he likes to swim against the stream. He is a Conservative by tradition and temper who has, oddly enough, served in Parliament as a Liberal and a Tory democrat. He is a descendant of the Duke of Marlborough who won the battles of Blenheim and Malplaquet, but he is responsible for the fiasco of Gallipoli in World War I; he quashed the General Strike, but he also helped to put through the eight-hour day for British miners; he is interested in slum clearance and social security but he can telephone across the Atlantic to the builders of his new manor house and order them to hold up the installation of his bathroom until he returns with gadgety ideas gleaned from the appurtenances in a garish Cincinnati hotel. Finally, he is daring, imaginative, creative—a fighter, a writer and a statesman who admits that the impossible came to pass after the last war, things he never even dreamed; and yet who has vowed to fight this one to a finish, to ultimate victory. He has offered the British people victory and at the same time "blood and tears and toil."

Winston Churchill is a simple man to understand in spite of what Miss Moir calls his "genius." He is sympathetic and original as only an original Englishman can be; for the narrow isle set in a silver sea has a way of producing now and again "originals" in letters, in the arts and in statesmanship. And when they do appear, they are likely to be brilliant, erratic and men of destiny in their chosen sphere.

Miss Moir has written a very human, a very amusing and readable book. If a man can be made to stand before us plain via his foibles and minor gestures, Winston Churchill stands full-statured and visible before us in Miss Moir's entertaining revelations. We are enabled to see how Churchill, a man with expensive eccentricities, cannot possibly survive the fall of Britain because he draws his lifeblood from its sacred heritage, the foibles and mores of Britain's governing classes. For him Britain must win and, winning, must not bring to pass "the impossible," in the lexicon of Winston Churchill; for if Churchill and his congeners in power abdicated their grip to the Bevins and the Morrisons of England, then Hitler in their view, might just as well win the war.

However, Mr. Churchill is dynamic, determined, versed in the art of holding onto power; and he represents England because he knows Englishmen best: his strength, weaknesses, toughness, even his addiction to Scotch and soda make up a reflection of what the common man images as a true-born Britisher.

—PIERRE LOVING

TURKEY. *By Emil Lengyel. New York: Random House. 1941. 474 pages and Index. Illustrated. $3.75.*

Dr. Lengyel's sprawling book on the evolution of Turkey and the Turks, from the Middle Ages to today's front page, is a sort of omnibus volume of crime and tangled politics in Southeastern Europe, Asia Minor and North Africa. Where the author is treating of the assorted breeds whence the modern Turks sprang, their customs, modes and traditions, he is excellent, and he tosses off those picturesque asides that have long enlivened the pages of van Loon. Where he is dealing with the factual, political history of the Ottoman Empire, Dr. Lengyel's labors unfortunately give off the aroma of Room 315 of the New York Public Library; that is, he does not do much more than an indifferent rewrite job. It is a pity, because the author has attacked conscientiously the appalling amount of literature on his subject. He is at his best when he describes the bazaars, coffee houses, the language,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prayers and the nomadism of the Turk in past centuries, and in the later chapters tracing the extraordinary metamorphosis of the people, beginning in 1923, under Mustafa Kemal. But that incredible tale was told with a good deal more human-interest detail and drama, some twelve years ago, by the Turkish woman historian, Halide Edib, who, incidentally, was one of Kemal's advisers.

Doubtless, anyone undertaking a long-range history of Turkey is confronted with a thankless task. If the result is intelligible, the charge is made of over-simplification of a historical subject whose essence is confusion and convulsion. If the effect is confused, the criticism is made of disorderly writing. Perhaps Dr. Lengyel has performed the task about as well as it can be done.

In his conclusion, the author raises the question, without answering it, of Germany's intentions toward Turkey, and of what Russia may or may not do should Hitler tackle the Straits. He estimates that the Turks could put 500,000 trained men into action, if invasion comes.

The publishers have done a particularly handsome job of book production.

ZAPATA, THE UNCONQUERABLE. *By Edgcumb Pinchon. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1941. 332 pages. $3.00.*

Even to many who know that the Mexican Revolution of 1910-20 was much more than an episode of the turbulent history of that country, Emiliano Zapata is only one of the several lesser-known guerilla leaders. But he finally begins to emerge as the man who did more to shape the present agrarian policy of Mexico than any of his contemporaries. He alone took the slogan "Land and Liberty" literally and in the State of Morelos which he controlled for several years did establish a kind of anarchistic communism, with the land returned to the peasants.

Among the leaders who arose to take up the fight against the return of reaction when President Madero was assassinated by his Army Chief—Huerta—Pancho Villa and Zapata will remain in the legends of the Mexican Indians as their Robin Hoods who, however, achieved more lasting results. At the time, they were villified by the press of the whole world, but now few serious historians deny that Zapata was probably the most unselfish and idealistic peasant leader in Mexico. Twenty years after his assassination, monuments are being erected to him, Mexican stamps bear his picture, and he is recognized as the forerunner of the real emancipation of the common people of Mexico.

Pinchon's book, though rather novelistic in style, fills an important gap in the literature of Mexico and that of the liberation of the downtrodden.

WOODROW WILSON, THE FIFTEENTH POINT. *By David Loth. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1941. 365 pages. $3.00.*

In appraising a book about Woodrow Wilson, the paradox arises that no "definitive" estimate of him can be made until twenty years after the next peace but that detailed understanding of the values of the man and his policies should precede the making of that peace. Mr. Loth avoids being conclusive. His book is an easily read rehash of memoirs, letters and biographies of the period, gaining little from the historical perspective of time and current events. It is not recommended for those who have already done some reading on his subject but may serve to introduce Woodrow Wilson and his principles to novices of history.

QUEST. THE EVOLUTION OF A SCIENTIST. *By Leopold Infeld. New York: Doubleday, Doran. 1941. 342 pages. $3.00.*

This is the autobiography of the Polish physicist who, in collaboration with Albert Einstein three years ago, wrote *The Evolution of Physics*. The author relates his childhood in the Warsaw ghetto, to which he repeatedly reverts in this account of his life, the many difficulties that beset his training as a scientist, and the hostility and persecution he suffered because "I had all the characteristics of behavior of the first Jewish generation which tries to fight its way outside the ghetto." Through Dr. Einstein, Infelds' escape to the United States and to Princeton was

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ACCENT

A QUARTERLY OF NEW LITERATURE

representing the best of various trends in present-day creative and critical writing, by young writers as well as celebrated ones. Important among the contributions by ninety authors since *Accent* began last Autumn are:

stories by

Katherine A. Porter	*Jerome Weidman*
Paul Proehl	*Gilbert Neiman*
Walter V. T. Clark	*Josephine Herbst*
Richard Wright	*Jesse Stuart*
James T. Farrell	*Morton Fineman*
Ernest Brace	*Eli Cantor*
William March	*Meyer Levin*

poems by

Wallace Stevens	*John Berryman*
Eve Merriam	*Horace Gregory*
Selden Rodman	*Howard Nutt*
Edwin G. Burrows	*Marya Zaturenska*
Gene Derwood	*John M. Brinnin*
Josephine Miles	*Conrad Aiken*
Henry Treece	*Joy Davidman*

articles by

John Dos Passos	*Desmond Powell*
David Daiches	*John Crowe Ransom*
Edgar Johnson	*Newton Arvin*
J. Patrick Byrne	*Otis Ferguson*
Louis Filler	*Lincoln Kirstein*
Robert Fitzgerald	*Richard Aldington*
Delmore Schwartz	*Paul Rosenfeld*

In addition to new fiction, poetry, and criticism, the fourth issue (ready May 25) contains "AMERICAN POETRY: 1930-1940," an annotated bibliography of all distinctive American books of verse published during that decade—with information about price, publisher, present availability, and the most discriminating reviews of each book. Arranged by years, to show the remarkable increase in poetic activity during the thirties. Interesting reading for all students of modern poetry, and an invaluable guide to its development. PLACE YOUR ORDER TODAY!

ACCENT
102 Univ. Station, Urbana, Ill.

ENCLOSED FIND: ☐ $1.00 FOR THE FIRST 4 ISSUES
☐ $1.75 FOR THE FIRST 8 ISSUES
☐ 30c FOR A SAMPLE COPY

Name.....

Address.....

made possible at a time when Jewish professors and students in Poland were undergoing methodical torture by gangs of anti-Semitic hoodlums.

Perhaps the volume derives its chief interest in the conflict between the professional scientist—"trained in too many doubts to employ force and to express unconditional belief"—and the world about him of political dogma. The autobiography is marred by excessive emotionalism, but that is understandable in light of the bitter and lacerating experiences of a sensitive man.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES OF AMERICAN STATES 1889-1928. A collection of Convention Recommendations, Resolutions, Reports and Motions Adopted by the First Six International Conferences of the American States, and Documents Relating to the Organization of the Conferences. *Edited with an Introduction by James Brown Scott, Director of the Division of International Law of the Carnegie Institute for International Peace. New York: Oxford University Press. 1931. 551 pages. Index of Persons and Subject Index. $3.50.*

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES OF AMERICAN STATES. First Supplement 1933-1940. Convention, Recommendations, Resolutions and Motives. Adopted by the Seventh and Eighth International Conferences of the American States, the Inter-American Conferences for the Maintenance of Peace, and the First and Second Meetings of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics for Consultation, at Panama and Habana, Together With Documents Relating to the Organization of the Conferences and Information Concerning Technical Pan-American Conferences, Commissions and Other Bodies. *Collected and Edited by the Division of International Law of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 1940. 557 pages. Index of Persons and Subject Index. $3.50.*

These are all that the long titles and subtitles say. They constitute a complete survey of all these memorable conferences

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with the complete texts of the resolutions which shaped the policies of the American Hemisphere. An indispensible reference book for every historian and journalist interested in Latin-American affairs.

NEW POEMS: 1940: AN ANTHOLOGY OF BRITISH AND AMERICAN VERSE. *Edited by Oscar Williams. The Yardstick Press. A Living Age Book. 1941. $2.50.*

THIS anthology, one which aims at presenting "living poetry" of the "crisis years," is the most important anthology to be printed in America. The only other that compares with it in excellence, and one which is already "dated," is the *Faber Book of Modern Verse* edited by Michael Roberts. Since it appeared in England and was edited by an Englishman, it fell a good way short of representing the American poetic scene. Mr. Williams is much more generous to the English than Mr. Roberts was to the Americans. In fact, if one considers that one English poet, George Barker, has thirty pages, an amount alloted to no American poet (and add to this the fact that Mr. Barker contributes the "Foreword"—an inspired if slightly elaborate piece of writing) one might say Mr. Williams was over-generous to the English. Fortunately George Barker's poems are exciting enough to bear the weight of his pages.

Of most interest to any reader is the anthologist's inclusions and exclusions. Inclusions (of younger poets) on which Mr. Williams deserves congratulations are: Dylan Thomas, David Wolf, Marya Zaturenska, W. R. Rodgers, Hugh Chisolm, Gene Derwood, Theodore Spencer, John Berryman. Obvious exclusions: John Peale Bishop (most difficult to forgive), James Agee, Robert Fitzgerald, Kenneth Fearing. One of the rewards of an editor, few enough in any case, is his right to indulge his prejudices, but one hopes he will live to regret these omissions. The "established" poets are not only "adequately represented," but more often than not are represented by poems written during the last year. Wallace Stevens, for example, contributes an extended and impressive piece never before printed. Tate, Gregory, Ransom, Auden, Spender are

POETRY:

A Magazine of Verse

". . . the one magazine in English where good poetry has been consistently welcomed, published, and paid for."
—*The Wilson Bulletin for Librarians*

HERE, and here alone, the reader is assured of finding the most recent work of the best-known American and British poets, plus the most interesting newcomers. POETRY welcomes equally the traditional and the experimental, its one criterion being merit: i. e., sincerity, aliveness, artistry. As a result, this magazine has been making literary history for more than a quarter century. During the past year POETRY'S circulation has climbed to an all-time peak, and the magazine is being used increasingly in class-rooms and study groups throughout the English-speaking world. Its back numbers grow more useful every year—an indispensable body of source and reference material for students of contemporary literature.

Each monthly issue of 64 pages is divided equally between verse and criticism.

Special introductory offer to LIVING AGE readers:
5 months' trial subscription for $1

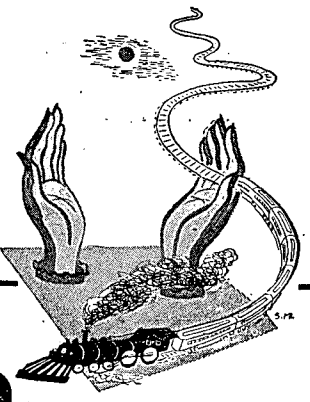
POETRY, 232 EAST ERIE STREET, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Enclosed find $1. Please send me POETRY for the next five months.

Name .....

Address .....

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



DOUBLY HANDY

(1) direct passageway from Grand Central Terminal to Roosevelt lobby, and (2) midtown location in the center of New York's attractions.

Save time and be comfortable . . . Attractive rooms with shower, $4.00—with tub and shower, from $4.50.

HOTEL ROOSEVELT

BERNAM G. HINES, Managing Director
MADISON AVENUE AT 45th ST., N. Y.

BOOK SERVICE
FOR SUBSCRIBERS

THE LIVING AGE will gladly send copies of any of the current books, fiction and non-fiction, to subscribers at publishers' list price, postpaid. Send name of book desired, with check or money-order, to

BOOK SERVICE
THE LIVING AGE
420 Madison Ave.
New York City

here with their latest work. The poems, therefore, are not "time-honored," but one feels they *will* be honored by time. The collection is edited with intelligence and sensitivity and with no regard for commercial appeal, a novelty in the way of American anthologizing. Still, it would be unfortunate if it were not widely distributed, if it did not find a place in every library and classroom in America. Of particular and general interest should be the thirty informal portraits of the poets and their biographies.

—WILLARD MAAS

(Willard Maas is a well-known young poet and critic, the author of two books of verse and winner of one of the prizes given each year by Poetry: A Magazine of Verse. *He has contributed criticisms to the* Herald Tribune Books, Accent, *etc.)*

SUGGESTED READING

ALLENBY. A STUDY IN GREATNESS. *By General Sir Archibald Wavell. Oxford University Press.* (Reviewed next month.)

THE SOONG SISTERS. *By Emily Hahn. Doubleday, Doran and Company.* (Reviewed next month.)

WORKERS BEFORE AND AFTER LENIN. *By Manya Gordon. E. P. Dutton & Co.* (Reviewed in April.)

A NEW DOCTRINE FOR THE AMERICAS. *By Charles Wertenbaker. The Viking Press.* (Reviewed in April.)

BATTLE FOR THE WORLD. *By Max Werner. Modern Age Books.* (Reviewed next month.)

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. *By John Holladay Latane & David W. Wainhouse. Doubleday, Doran and Company.* (Reviewed next month.)

UNITED WE STAND! *By Hanson W. Baldwin. Whittlesey House.* (Reviewed next month.)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED